

**LEARNING BEYOND WORDS.**

**THE IMPACT OF SECOND LANGUAGE ADULT  
EDUCATION ON MIGRANTS' SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT:  
A COMPARISON BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND GREECE**

*A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy*

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**I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been published or submitted in support of any degree or qualification**

# Abstract

Literature on second language adult education that approaches the subject from a sociological point of view, often perceives the field as a social policy and cohesion measure for individuals who are deemed to be vulnerable and socially problematic. In this study the approach is different, focusing instead on the social and political potential of the class in helping migrants be proactive about their involvement in the new society. Education, and adult education in particular, has been historically related to issues of citizenship and social inclusion, and this study embraces the adult education discourse of citizenship, in which the learner is viewed as a social actor and education as a key process to claiming and re-defining membership in society.

The study, drawing from research on eight second language classes in Glasgow and Athens, where in-depth, semi-structured interviews with both tutors and students were conducted, takes a Critical Social Research approach. It concentrates on the ways in which second language classes – both as a process and as a product of learning – can be a catalyst for migrants' social involvement. Furthermore, it explores the impact of pedagogic traditions and socio-political factors on the outcomes of the educational experience. These classes took place within diverse organisations, which consisted of a Further Education college, a single-ethnic group community centre, a charity organisation and a migrants' campaign organisation in each country respectively. The use of comparison between Glasgow and Athens is an interesting one, since there is a similar recent experience of sudden demographic change, but different political cultures and adult education traditions.

The findings of the study make a contribution both in relation to the ways in which educators can endorse socio-political involvement and in relation to the wider cultural influences on pedagogy. It is, thus, shown that students' social participation largely depends on the educators' utilization of non-formal methodologies, extra-curricular activities and, most importantly, their willingness to broaden the scope of the curriculum. Furthermore, it is demonstrated how the established educational culture in a country has an overarching impact on the educators' perception of their role and their pedagogical approaches.

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# List of Abbreviations

|       |                                               |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------|
| CRE   | Commission for Racial Equality                |
| EAM   | National Liberation Front                     |
| EFL   | English as a Foreign Language                 |
| ESF   | European Social Fund                          |
| ESOL  | English as a Second or Other Language         |
| HRD   | Human Resource Development                    |
| IELTS | International English Language Testing System |
| KEK   | Vocational Education Centre                   |
| NGO   | Non Governmental Organization                 |
| SQA   | Scottish Qualifications Authority             |
| SRIF  | Scottish Refugee Integration Forum            |
| TEFL  | Teaching English as a Foreign Language        |
| WEA   | Workers' Educational Association              |

# CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The object of this thesis is to examine the relationship between adult education and migrants' involvement in their new society. Adult education has always been influenced by each era's socio-political circumstances, and at the same time has a tradition of endeavouring to influence these conditions. The distinctive experiences, responsibilities and agency associated with adulthood render adult education, literally and notionally, a space where citizenship has been historically contested and fought for. This is all the more pertinent today as the language of citizenship is increasingly re-entering adult education literature, be it academic or policy-related.

Yet not all approaches of adult education perceive citizenship in the same way. Accordingly, Martin (1999a:94) categorises adult education discourses of citizenship into economic and political ones; the first type conceiving of the students as workers/producers or customers/consumers, whilst the latter viewing them as social agents. In this study, it is the second, political discourse of adult education that is of interest; as it endorses the movement from democracy in the form of an inherited culturally defined value and life form, to democracy as methods and principles through which societies constantly reinvent their institutions and social relations (Rasmussen, 2004:159-160).

Issues related to citizenship have been generating growing interest due to the social changes that have been taking place in the last decades. Technological advancement in transport and communications has led increasingly to culturally diverse states. Despite the fact that in reality societies were never monocultural, contemporary migration challenges established presumptions of singular socio-political organisation based on the national level. Furthermore, changing philosophies in relation to cultural human rights have rendered the idea of migrants' assimilation less and less feasible. Thus, modern democracies, which developed on the basis of the nation-state, have difficulty in dealing with the visible Other as a member of their community, leading to the social exclusion of a growing segment of society and to the undermining of democratic principles (Castles, 2000; Soysal, 1999; Taylor, 2000).

The radical tradition of adult education has historically been concerned with socio-political issues and it can thus provide a valuable space for contesting and reworking

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<sup>1</sup> The term migrant is defined in Chapter 1.2.



citizenship with the aspiration of progressing towards a more equitable society (Martin, 2000). This role of adult education generated my interest in studying through its lens the opportunities and challenges created by the increasing demographic heterogeneity in western societies.

As migrants tend to lack legal rights, social involvement within the framework of active citizenship – the ways in which individuals and groups actively construct their membership claims and realise their actual membership of communities at different levels (Glastra, n.d.:1)<sup>2</sup> – is one of the very limited avenues for them to assert a place in society as well as to challenge monolithic conceptions of society and culture. The term social involvement here embraces any non-solitary activity outside work and family, which the individual chooses to engage in. As such, it refers to both conventional<sup>3</sup> and interventionist<sup>4</sup> forms of social and political participation. Not all students will be interested in becoming socially involved to the same degree, in the same way or with the same ends. Some will perceive involvement as a channel for challenging socio-political realities and relations and as a key to their ‘war of position’ (Gramsci, 1971:229-230) for widening perceptions of citizenship. Others will just want to get on with their lives, which still entails a certain level of participation, both in small networks of people as well as in wider institutions.

The contribution of adult education to students’ engagement in civic activity has already been demonstrated. Different authors (e.g. Schuller *et al*, 2002:44-52; Jarvis, 2002:17-18; Merrifield, 2002:4-19; Elliott 2000:16-18) suggest how different aspects

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<sup>2</sup> There is a distinction between the way ‘active citizenship’ is defined here and the way it is used by governmental organizations. Active citizenship is a key tenet of the government's philosophy of Civil Renewal, whose aim is to develop strong, active, and empowered communities, in which people act for themselves and tackle problems of their communities in partnership with public bodies as a means for improving their quality of life (Home Office Civil Renewal Unit, 2004). However, this definition of active citizenship is problematic as it relocates the responsibility for the tackling of social problems – often based on wider economic structures – from the state to the individual members of the community. Moreover, this perception of active citizenship is rather restricted as it aspires to legitimate the social order by allowing more people to have a degree of voice, rather than to open access to decision making with the possibility of challenging established perceptions. It is significant that the term active citizenship was first introduced in British politics by the Tories in the Thatcherite era (Westwood, 1991:5; Held, 1991:20).

<sup>3</sup> Such as participation in local social or religious organisations, social visits or partaking in top-down political processes.

<sup>4</sup> Such as involvement in grassroots organizations, which aspire to alter the group’s or the wider community’s socio-political conditions, including participation in demonstrations or pressure groups.



of an educational experience contribute to adults' increased interest in civic participation.<sup>5</sup> However, most literature referring to migrants' adult education and second language learning, either concentrates on the cognitive processes of language acquisition (e.g. Krashen, 1985), or on students' needs and good practice guides for meeting these needs.

This cognitive approach to second language education has come increasingly under criticism for being highly reductionist and for overlooking the learner's role in the second language acquisition process. Instead, a more holistic approach to humans and 'the relationship between real individuals and languages other than their first' (Lantolf & Parlenko, 2001:143) is being put forward (e.g. Corbett, 2003:11; Lantolf & Parlenko, 2001; Larsen-Freeman, 2001; Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004:2-3). Still, in the case that the literature takes into consideration the social aspects of language learning, students tend to be viewed as a vulnerable group, and the second language class as a means of social policy to help them overcome their problems (e.g. Grief *et al*, 2002; Papavasiliou-Alexiou, 2005:28-31; Windsor & Healey, 2006). This pathological education discourse (Martin, 2003:573; Thompson, 1980:89) is combined with a social integrationist approach to social inclusion<sup>6</sup> (Levitas, 1998:7-28), assuming the necessity for migrants to become incorporated in the host community, and most importantly in the local job market, leaving the host society largely unaffected.

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<sup>5</sup> These are explored in Chapter 2.1.

<sup>6</sup> Levitas (1998:7-28) divides social inclusion/exclusion discourses into three types. The first is the 'redistributionist egalitarian' one, the historical origins of which focused on the causes and characteristics of poverty, but which subsequently broadened out into a general analysis of the structural generation of social exclusion. The second is the 'moral underclass' discourse, which identifies the cause of social exclusion with the moral and cultural characteristics of those excluded. The most dominant discourse in Western Europe is however the 'social integrationist' one, which prioritises economic efficiency and social cohesion, linking the two by a consistent emphasis upon the integrative function of paid work. Participation in the labour market is thus considered to be the overwhelming key to social inclusion. The view in this study coincides with Lister's criticism that the moral underclass and the social integrationist approaches regard inclusion as a device for dealing with the costs of social dislocation. The redistributionist approach, on the other hand, is open to more radical changes in social organisation and relationships (Lister, 2000:39-44).

## 1.1 Aims and Objectives

In contradistinction to the approach just discussed, and drawing from the ideas of radical adult education, this study:

- explores ways through which second language educators can encourage their students to become more socially participative and thus to develop as confident social actors
- investigates how educational and socio-cultural traditions influence the socio-political outcomes of the educational experience

The above aims can be interpreted into the following research questions:

- Were students of second language adult education classes becoming more socially participative as a result of their educational experience?
- If so, in which way? Was it participation of a conventional or of an interventionist form?
- If they were becoming more participative, how had their tutors contributed towards that?
- Did the educational tradition influence whether tutors endorsed social involvement?
- Did the socio-political culture influence whether tutors endorsed social involvement?
- In the cases that tutors endorsed social involvement, did the educational and socio-cultural traditions impact on the ways through which they endorsed participation?
- Did the educational and socio-cultural traditions influence the degree and type of social participation that developed through the educational experience?

A comparison of different educational settings, both across and within borders, provides insights of diverse practice, as well as it explores the influences of different educational and socio-cultural traditions. The focus is on Glasgow and Athens, which are analogous from a demographic change point of view, as both have recently experienced an unforeseen arrival of newcomers. However, these cities have different traditions in adult education and distinct political cultures. It is, therefore, hypothesised that these educational and socio-political differences will be reflected on the impact adult education will have on students' social involvement. At the same

time, through reviewing the varied practices of the different institutions and the different cultural settings, it is expected to contribute towards ideas on how one could endorse social involvement through an adult education second language class.



## 1.2 The ‘Migrant’

At this point, it is necessary to define what is meant by the term ‘migrant’. Much political and academic analysis within the humanities is concerned with the concept of ‘immigration’. ‘Immigration’ means entrance into a foreign country with the intention to reside permanently (Miles, 1984:161-165). Nevertheless, the distinction between a migrant and an immigrant is a false one, as in many cases migrants who plan to return to their country of origin end up never relocating, thus becoming immigrants. On the other hand, people who emigrate with the intention of settling permanently in the new country may end up leaving for a new country or returning to their country of origin, becoming migrants rather than immigrants. The divergence between what a person decides to do when they first leave their country and what they actually do in the long run is not only natural; it also seems to occur frequently. This makes the more flexible term ‘migrant’ preferable to the rigid term ‘immigrant’.

Furthermore, specifically in relation to people moving to Britain in the period between the Second World War and 1971,<sup>7</sup> the use of the term ‘immigrant’ is inappropriate as a large percentage of them came in as Commonwealth subjects and hence, at the time, as officially British.<sup>8</sup> The notion of ‘migrant’ on the other hand makes no assumptions about ‘foreigners’ or the intentions of those to which it refers.<sup>9</sup> Migration refers to geographical mobility followed by a period of settlement, which, as Miles (ibid:161-165) explains, apart from being less judgemental, is a more useful term in comparative analysis.

Another issue is the distinction between ‘migrants’ and ‘refugees’. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention – to which all European Union countries are signatories – a ‘refugee’ is defined as any person who ‘owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it’ (UNHCR, 1996:16). Thus, the refugee, due to push factors, seeks protection within what they expect to be a more accepting

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<sup>7</sup> The 1971 Immigration Act was an escalation of the policies prescribed in the 1962 and 1968 Commonwealth Acts. These acts increasingly made Commonwealth citizens who did not have kinship ties to the UK subject to immigration control (Miles & Cleary, 1992:135).

<sup>8</sup> This is particularly relevant to the participants of the minoritised ethnic community class in Glasgow.

<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it could also refer to internal migration between areas of the same state, such as Scots leaving for other parts of the UK and rural Greeks moving to the capital.

and less brutal state. On the other hand, the immigrant/migrant, is traditionally thought of as coming to the new country in search of opportunity, in other words, due to pull factors.

Castles (2000:82) reasonably argues that any previous distinctions between types of migrations are becoming increasingly meaningless. Migration policies have been premised on the belief that movements can be divided up into neat categories, such as economic migration, family reunion, refugees and illegal migrants. Economic migrants in turn are subdivided into unskilled labour, highly skilled employees and business migrants, while refugees are divided into legally accepted refugees and asylum seekers.<sup>10</sup> These distinctions are, however, inconsistent for three major reasons. First of all, in terms of the 'push and pull' model, Castles argues that it is the 'push' factors that are the dominant ones. In this way, people migrate mainly because the conditions of life are poor in their country of origin, rather than purely in search of better opportunities. Moreover, as economic push factors in an area of the world are increasingly intertwined with national and international political issues, the division between economic and political migrants has become problematic.

Secondly, the ambiguity of the Geneva Convention's definition of the term 'persecution' creates a paradox in the way refugees are distinguished from economic migrants. It is clear that not all forms of discrimination will entitle an asylum applicant to protection. However, the ill-treatment can be so serious that it results in an atmosphere of insecurity amounting to persecution. Persecution does not have to be the deliberate act of a conscious agent. Dominant discourses can position a social group at the fringe of society and encourage its consistent and systematic maltreatment. For such social groups the ill-treatment is more likely to manifest itself in serious economic deprivation and marginalisation. They are more likely to be criminalized and to be victims of crime. At the same time, they are more unlikely to exercise their democratic freedoms. Thus, as Dobe (2000:2) argues, the consequences of such persecution are primarily economic, making the division between refugees and migrants unclear.

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<sup>10</sup> Until the mid-1990s the term 'refugee' was used in everyday speech in the UK as an umbrella term for all those seeking or having received asylum. In recent years, however, this has been reversed, reflecting a widespread unwillingness to believe the legitimacy of the claims of those who seek asylum. As we will see from this study, though, in Greece the term 'refugee' is still used for all political migrants, regardless of their legal status.



The third reason that justifies emphasising the similarities of migrants, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers through the use of a single and broader word is that economic and political migrants enter the host country through similar legal routes. In this way, the 2006 UK Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act (House of Commons, 2006) makes very few references to economic migration, and focuses instead on foreign entrants who have come into the country as asylum seekers. This transformation has resulted in the discussion of asylum issues proceeding in language hitherto reserved for immigration and the attitudes that existed in relation to migrants having been transposed on to asylum seekers. This is particularly evident in the media's scapegoating of asylum seekers and the Enoch Powell-style arguments against them.<sup>11</sup> In Greece, on the other hand, an example of a Southern European country with – until recently – limited experience of in-migration, the labyrinthine procedures relating to immigration and asylum in the 3386/2005 Law (Hellenic Republic, 2005b) reinforce the link between economic and political migrants who, in public discourse, are grouped under the category of 'foreigners'.<sup>12</sup>

A further reason for opting for the broader term 'migrant', apart from the theoretical issues discussed above, is the reality of the common problems that people from all these subgroups face. Certainly, a person who has migrated to escape from poverty in their country will not have to deal with the same traumas as a refugee who has been tortured. Nevertheless, they often both face similar experiences in the receiving country, such as material deprivation, legal problems that exclude them from participating in the country's socio-political life, uncertainty surrounding their stay and experience of living in two cultures simultaneously – mentally in one and physically in another (Linardos-Rylmon, 2003:13; Stead *et al*, 1999). Consequently, in order to overcome the above problems and inconsistencies, in this study we will be using the term 'migrant' to refer to any person who has moved to a new country due to push factors of any nature.

There is an issue to which attention should be drawn to before moving on. Social scientists often warn that the problems raised by migration are potentially explosive if they are not solved (e.g. Ntokos, 2001; Petsalnikos, 2001:16). Despite such discussions being well intended, they still reaffirm negative identifications. Moreover, migrants, when not criminalized, are discussed in a way that stresses their need for help and

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<sup>11</sup> Like, 'floods' or 'waves' of 'bogus' asylum seekers 'swamping' Britain (Brooks, 2003; Mollart, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> In Greek 'Ξένοι' (kseni).

their inability to stand on their own feet (Bauman, 2002:343).<sup>13</sup> Along with this goes the idea of primitive uneducated migrants who have to be civilised by the host society (Thränhardt, 1992:46).

It is often the case then, that migrants – when they are not criminalized – enter the discourse as objects. They derive their social characteristics and identity from other people's actions – that is the 'perpetrators' who have created the push factors for them to leave their country and the 'benefactors' who are trying to facilitate their life in the new society (Bauman, 2002:343). This study intends to avoid a similarly paternalistic attitude. On the contrary, the author sees them as actors, agents that can to some extent shape their life experiences and the society they live in. It is precisely because of the belief that migrants' actions can have catalytic effects on the receiving societies that interest in this particular topic was born.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> (e.g. Barclay *et al*, 2003; Charlaff *et al*, 2004; Grief *et al*, 2002; Windsor & Healey, 2006)

<sup>14</sup> This is explained in Chapter 3.1.



## 1.3 The Research Process

The study was initiated as a result of the author's experience as a second language tutor in an outreach educational project for asylum seekers and refugees. The research question of how an educator can encourage their migrant students to break their social isolation and develop as social actors was the outcome of the author's and her colleagues' inability to succeed such a goal. At the same time, there was a hypothesis that the educational and socio-cultural traditions of the country influenced the class's outcome in relation to students' degree and ways of social involvement. As a result, this became the second research aim of the study.

In order to further explore the issue, four different types of educational organizations were chosen in Glasgow and four equivalents in Athens, reflecting a wide spectrum of educational settings. In each city the following participated in the study: a further education college preparing students for the national language qualifications, a class offered within a minoritised<sup>15</sup> ethnic community,<sup>16</sup> a class run by a charity organization and a class in an organization campaigning for migrants' issues. These organizations were chosen with the expectation that each type would reflect a distinct educational approach, including different aims, methods and curriculum. Thus, the comparative analysis was not only made between the social and educational traditions of the two countries, but also between the beliefs and practices of different educational institution types.

The above research aims also allude to the principles and values that underlie the thesis. As mentioned above, the study is interested in adult education for migrants' social participation. More specifically, the understanding of citizenship in this thesis coincides with the political adult education discourse of citizenship, which perceives students as social actors (Martin, 1999a:9994). As a result the author finds herself closer to the radical adult education approach, an affiliation that has implications on the focus of the study. The research, thus, tried to include some second language adult

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<sup>15</sup> This study uses the term 'minoritised' instead of ethnic minority, which highlights the process of categorisation and/or racialisation of ethnic populations. It indicates that this categorisation is an active social construction taking place both in the host and new community members' minds (Gunaratham, 2003:17).

<sup>16</sup> Thus catering specifically for its members.

education organizations that were expected to be closer to the radical model of adult education.<sup>17</sup>

For the purposes of the study, qualitative semi-structured interviews with both students and tutors of these classes were conducted. Forty people were interviewed in total. Sixteen of them were tutors and twenty-four were students. The students were asked questions on their perceptions of what the course should entail, issues discussed in the classroom, contact with other students outside class hours, and changes in their social participation as a result of the educational experience. The tutors were also asked about their ideas on what the lesson should involve including extra-curricular activities, their motivation for engaging in this kind of work and the perceptions of their role. Despite both conventional and interventionist types of social involvement being addressed, due to the values that inspired the study,<sup>18</sup> more attention was paid to the latter form of participation.

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<sup>17</sup> That is the classes that take place within campaign organizations.

<sup>18</sup> As discussed above.

## **1.4 Thesis Structure**

The thesis is structured as follows. The first section (Chapters One to Three) examines the theoretical framework of adult education for migrants' social involvement, including a critique and evaluation of how the varied adult education traditions respond to issues of migrants' citizenship. It also addresses questions that migration raises in relation to the realisation of a democratic and inclusive society and provides the justification for the choices of the study.

The second section (Chapters Four and Five) contextualises the case studies, looking into legal, societal and educational factors affecting migrants' social involvement in Scotland and Greece.

The next section (Chapters Six to Ten) considers the methodological issues and concerns relating to the fieldwork, describes the organizations participating in the study and provides an account of the tutor and student samples. It offers a description and comparative analysis of the interviewees' responses, leading to the identification of emerging themes.

The concluding section (Chapter Eleven) is a reflection on the findings, linking them to the research questions and leading to the recommendation of areas for further research.



# CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 Adult Education and Citizenship

As mentioned in Chapter One, the sphere of adult education is deeply influenced by perceptions of what society should be like, and in its turn has striven to make an impact on developing individuals and social structures respectively. The distinctive experiences, responsibilities and agency associated with adulthood render adult education – literally and notionally – a space where citizenship can be contested and fought for. The link between education and socio-political involvement is not new. Dewey (1966:87), understanding democracy as being, not just a form of government but as ‘a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience’, viewed education as a fundamental element for its practice. Freire (1996:68-74) equally emphasised the function of dialogue as a means of democratic communication, through which a plurality of voices exchange views and deliberate on their concrete realities.

Through this dialogical communication, proponents of radical adult education<sup>19</sup> aim to construct ‘really useful knowledge’ (Johnson, 1988), which can inform ordinary people’s struggles for social change. Despite the interest this adult education approach has in transforming society, authors hold different ideas in relation to the contribution adult education can actually make to the process of social change (Holst, 2002:78-80). Nonetheless, most theorists affiliated to this tradition, while generally agreeing upon the limitations of adult education in generating social change, do not doubt the educational nature of transformation (Thompson, 2000:88; Martin, 2003:573; Torres & Freire, 1993:106).

Nowadays, discussions on citizenship are not only made among liberal progressive and radical educationalists, as the language of citizenship is increasingly entering adult education discourses on a policy-level. Policy documents (Scottish Executive, 2003:7; GSAE, 2006; European Commission, 2001:3), put forward the argument that current lifelong learning strategies have active citizenship as one of their major goals. However, their examination of how this goal could be achieved is very superficial.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> As acknowledged in Chapter One, the traditional focus of radical adult education on issues of citizenship makes it of particular interest for this thesis. A greater exploration of this tradition will follow in a later part of this chapter.

<sup>20</sup> Further discussion on lifelong learning policy will follow later.

This superficiality, however, is not due to a lack of ability for better understanding of the link between the two. Instead, it is the result of an effort to reconstruct the concept of citizenship itself (Martin, 2003:575-576). Thus, the type of citizenship that they are interested in is what was described in Chapter One as the economic discourse of citizenship (Martin, 1999a:94). The worry of educationalists, such as Mayo (2000:23) and Martin (2003:571-572), about policy-makers' increased interest in citizenship is shared by the author, as it is believed that it leads to the appropriation of the term and the change of its meaning, rather than to its actual endorsement.

There is, however, other literature, which offers a more critical and detailed exploration of the link between adult education, citizenship and social involvement. Most of this literature adopts a rather theoretical approach, discussing the concept of citizenship and adult education's tradition and responsibility in promoting it (e.g. Field & Bron, 2001; Martin, 2000; Rasmussen, 2004; Tobias, 2000). Other literature concentrates on non-formal adult learning or citizenship adult education, whether that is in community settings, volunteer organizations or social movements (e.g. Dekeyser, 2001; Pillinger, 2000; Thompson, 2002; Mayo, 2000; Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999; Annette, 2004). The problem with the above literature is that, although it makes adult educators more conscious about their role and more sceptical about the contemporary discourse of lifelong learning, it does not offer ideas on how socio-political involvement can be deliberately developed in a formal adult education class whose subject and/or primary goal is not directly linked with society and citizenship.

As Benn (2000:244) argues though, citizenship can be seen as a process, with the skills needed for engaging in it as fundamentally transferable. Seen in this way, the skills for active citizenship and social involvement can be gained in any adult education class and not necessarily in one that aims specifically at civic adult education or community development. Moreover, Merrifield (2002:6) claims that active citizens can be developed, not only consciously through citizenship adult education, but also on other less deliberate levels, including that of unrecognised learning – that is through socialisation. From the above, it can be argued that the combination of formal and informal learning that takes place in second language adult education classes makes them a crucial space for developing both knowledge and transferable skills that can assist participants in becoming socially involved. At this point, one could claim that such unconscious learning through socialisation is unwelcome, since it could be seen as a form of indoctrination. Nonetheless, Jarvis (in Merrifield, 2002:9) asserts that socialisation, although an unconscious process of



learning, is not thoughtless. To the contrary, it involves reflection, modification and then internalisation of a changed version of what was initially transmitted.

There is some other literature that can be useful in the exploration of the connection between adult education and the promotion of social involvement. Holford and van der Veen (2003:51-52) provide a useful framework of the necessary conditions for learning active citizenship. These include (i) the development of a feeling of agency, (ii) coping with and taking responsibility for social issues and (iii) re/forming an identity that connects oneself with other people, convictions, opinions and ideals. Although Holford and van der Veen perceive the above as preconditions for learning citizenship, it could also be argued that these are necessary traits that have to be developed *through* adult education in order for people to become more socially and politically active.

This is similar to Martin's argument (2003:574-575), who believes that assisting people in gaining and expressing a sense of agency is a central purpose of adult education. Thus, the capacity for voicing dissent is something that adult education should help develop and use in a way that promotes democracy. Moreover, Martin maintains that adult education classes, in order to endorse active citizenship, should become themselves models of democracy in practice. This point is of great importance given that it is often the case that adult educators who, through their work, aim to nurture informed and active citizens, fail to use dialogical deliberative processes in shaping the curriculum, methodology and/or assessment.

Elliott (2000:16) shares the above belief for the need of democratic negotiation of the educational process in order to promote active citizenship through adult education. In addition, she emphasises one aspect that has not been overtly discussed by the authors above, and that is the curriculum itself. According to Elliott, in order to endorse learning for social citizenship, the curriculum should focus on the nature of the civil society and institutions, encourage the development of critical understanding of the society and offer access to an informed understanding of social rights. Jarvis (2002:17-18) is also interested in how adult education can encourage social involvement, using both teaching methods and the curriculum. He suggests that, in relation to methods, there should be an emphasis on collaborative learning and the use of democratic teaching styles. The curriculum should include subjects that are relevant to active citizenship and there should be an effort to connect learning with practical applications in society.



From a more concrete point of view, Schuller *et al* (2002:44-52) have demonstrated how different aspects of an educational experience can contribute to adults' increased civic involvement. They identify all the above educational elements as endorsing social engagement. Thus, apart from opportunities opened up by the curriculum to explore social ideas, realities and values, the acquisition of civic competence<sup>21</sup> can be education's indirect contribution to one's socio-political participation. Furthermore, the social space of the adult education classroom provides the possibility for network building, an indispensable element of social involvement.

Speaking specifically about contemporary societies, Johnston (2003) formulates a framework for practice that aims to support the understanding and developing of adult learning for citizenship. In this framework he identifies four qualities of citizenship, all of which need to be addressed. These are inclusiveness, pluralism, critical reflection and linking learning with practice in the social sphere. Using this framework, Coare and Johnston (2003:207-221) make very thorough propositions for practice, which are: promoting social learning, building social capital, fostering collective identities, finding common purpose, listening to voices, negotiating the curriculum, connecting informal and formal learning, embracing participation, working with social movements and influencing policy.

One of the important recommendations that Coare and Johnston (*ibid*) make is the need for learning to listen to different voices. Democratic deliberation is also put forward by some of the other authors discussed above. However, the focus tends to be more on people getting a voice, rather than on people learning to listen. Welton (2002) draws attention to the vital role listening plays in democracy and argues that adult education geared for active citizenship should endorse learning to listen as an intentional pedagogical outcome. Equally important aspects of 'getting a voice' that need to be encouraged through adult education are, as Crowther and Tett (2001:114) put forward, the ability to question and the interest in public issues. Moreover, of particular relevance to social groups that tend to be seen by policy as 'vulnerable groups' – as is the case of migrants – is the capacity 'to interrogate the claims and activities done on their behalf' (*ibid*:108).

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<sup>21</sup> The generic skills and understandings that can be useful for civic activity.

### ***2.1.1 Social Capital and Adult Education***

One of the issues that should be discussed at this point, since it often appears in adult education literature for citizenship, is the concept of 'social capital' (e.g. Johnston, 2003:56-57; Field, 2001:26-30; Mayo, 2000:24,32, Merrifield, 1997:2; Benn, 2000:1-2). Even when the term is not used as such, the notion is referred to in other ways, such as network building and/or building alliances.

The first systematic analysis of the term 'social capital' was made by Bourdieu (1997a:51), who defined it as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition'. It is a membership that offers its associates the support of the collectively owned capital. Bourdieu, therefore, understands social capital as a source of power, like any other form of capital. The volume of social capital possessed by an individual depends on the size of their social network and on the levels of capital the members of this network possess. Bourdieu does not perceive social capital as entirely discrete from economic or cultural capital, but rather as one form of capital that, in certain conditions, may be convertible into other forms. Still, economic capital remains the root of all the other types of capital, leading to what one could describe as a hierarchy of social capitals.

Perceiving society from a critical social theory point of view, Bourdieu explores how individuals invest in social capital for their own personal gain. His analysis of social networks, and therefore social capital, is exclusive. Although not consciously, social networks function in such a way as to concentrate resources and power for their members. These social networks are, moreover, reproduced, which also leads to the reproduction of the accrued power and resources. Bourdieu, therefore, treats the concept of social capital instrumentally (Portes, 1998:3). It is precisely because of these ensuing profits that a sense of solidarity develops amongst members of a social network.

Although Bourdieu's understanding of social capital is more compatible with the critical social theory approach espoused in this study, most adult education discussions of social capital draw from Putnam (e.g. Merrifield, 1997:2; Mayo, 2000:24; Johnston, 2003:56; Dekeyser, 2001:37). Putnam (2000:19) defines social capital as the 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. In other words, social



capital for Putnam (1995:67) is the 'features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'.

Despite recognising the impact of social capital on the individual, Putnam (2000) concentrates on the advantages it offers to the community, which is the opposite of Bourdieu's focus. Similar to Bourdieu's hierarchy of social capital, Putnam admits that social capital can also have negative implications, such as malevolent, antisocial purposes<sup>22</sup> or the exclusion of outsiders. Yet, he still perceives the positive consequences, such as mutual support, cooperation, trust and institutional effectiveness, as being more potent than the negative ones, indicating a communitarian and rather functionalist perception of society.

Putnam, however, makes an interesting distinction between 'bonding' or exclusive social capital and 'bridging' or inclusive social capital. The first form is the one that was also discussed by Bourdieu. It is inward looking, reinforcing homogeneity and exclusiveness, whilst the latter is 'outward looking and encompass[es] people across diverse social cleavages' (2000:22). This latter form of social capital is useful in linking people to external assets and for gaining information. Nonetheless, according to Putnam, the bonding form of social capital also has its own advantages in generating trust, reciprocity and solidarity, which are viewed as great benefits for society (or a community) as a whole. A community or an individual does not have either bonding or bridging social capital, but can have more of one than of the other, which will determine the nature of the community and its assets.

As mentioned earlier, the discussion of social capital in adult education literature, and especially in adult education for citizenship literature, is increasingly common (e.g. Johnston, 2003:56-57; Field, 2001:26-30; Mayo, 2000:24,32, Merrifield, 1997:2; Benn, 2000:1-2). Johnston (2003:53) offers some explanations as to the reasons why this concept is of particular appeal to educators who are interested in civic involvement. These are the concept's challenge to the current focus on human and economic capital and the social aspect it recognises in learning.

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<sup>22</sup> Like any other form of capital.



However, despite the concept's regular appearance in adult education literature, there is usually no clear indication in which way this is relevant, whether it applies only to non-formal learning, whether it is perceived as naturally developing in adult education settings and whether its development needs to be a conscious objective of education. This is partly due to the concept's diverse interpretation and applications outwith the field of adult education.<sup>23</sup> As a result, the notion of social capital is not without its critiques amongst adult educationalists.

Johnston (2003:53) asserts that the uncritical use of the term runs the risk of falling into an economistic pitfall and blames the excluded for their lack of inclusion. Moreover, Field (2001:29), echoing Bourdieu and Putnam, reminds adult educators that networks, by including some people, exclude others and, more importantly, that 'some types of social capital endow more powerful and influential resources than do others'. At this point, Putnam's distinction between bonding and bridging capital can be of use. In this study, as it will be seen in the framework formulated at the end of this section, the argument put forward is that, given that socio-political involvement requires the coming together of individuals who share common experiences *and/or* common socio-political aims, *both* bonding and bridging social capital should be a conscious aim of an educational programme – whether that is formal, informal or non-formal.

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<sup>23</sup> As we also saw from the discussion of Bourdieu's and Putnam's works.

### ***2.1.2 Framework for Endorsing Active Citizenship through Adult Education***

All of the above findings and suggestions are encapsulated in Merrifield's (1997:6) organised categorisation of how adult education can contribute towards the creation of socially active individuals and communities. This is through students (i) becoming informed, (ii) getting a voice and (iii) learning to work together. She argues that the first involves learning to pose questions and to identify problems, learning to find information from a variety of sources, reading between the lines, understanding the process of political decision-making, understanding who your allies are and learning how to influence people. Gaining a voice includes being willing to speak out, developing arguments, having a sense of self and learning to speak in a comprehensible manner. Lastly, learning to work together includes getting formally or informally involved in social groups and learning to deal with difference and conflict.

Drawing from Merrifield's useful typology, and adding to it the further suggestions from the literature discussed above, we can generate a framework to be used as a basis for this study. Within this framework we can assess the degree to which second language classes in Glasgow and Athens endorse learning for citizenship and social involvement. Moreover, drawing from the classes employed in the study, the aim is to expand this framework and to explore how socio-political factors and educational traditions influence the commitment and success of learning for socio-political involvement.



Table 2.1.2 Framework for Endorsing Active Citizenship through Adult Education

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Becoming Informed:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Exploring social ideas, realities and values</li><li>• Developing critical thinking</li><li>• Accessing information</li><li>• Gaining knowledge of political system and rights</li><li>• Learning to listen</li></ul>                                                                                              |
| <b>Getting a Voice:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Developing a sense of agency</li><li>• Formulating arguments</li><li>• Speaking out</li><li>• Learning how to influence</li><li>• Working with social movements</li></ul>                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>Learning to Work Together:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Building (bridging and bonding) social capital</li><li>• Making allies (finding common purpose and fostering collective identities)</li><li>• Taking responsibility for social issues</li><li>• Working democratically</li><li>• Dealing with difference and conflict</li><li>• Learning collaboratively</li></ul> |



## 2.2 Adult Education and Migrants' Citizenship

The literature of adult education that relates specifically to migrants' social involvement and citizenship is more limited and often country-specific (e.g. Glastra & Schedler, 2004; Bhola, 1999). Concentrating on the impact of second language adult education on migrants' citizenship, Bron (2003:618), drawing from her study on migrants in Sweden, argues that comprehension of the language and knowledge about the host culture are necessary for learning about one's civil liberties and duties, for exercising one's rights and for becoming socially involved. This link between social participation and learning the host community's language is also highlighted by Bellis and Morrice (2003:85-86), who found in their research on asylum seekers in the UK, that learning the language is perceived by students as a means of acquiring a sense of citizenship.

Bellis and Morrice (ibid:81-84) also discerned the importance of the social aspect of adult education classes. For students, joining a class means an opportunity to meet people and to find out about other courses or activities they could engage in. Most importantly, the adult education class is a gateway to informal networks and voluntary sector organizations from which students can receive support. In other words, adult education was seen as a means of generative bonding and bridging social capital. The role of the local community is particularly important to the interviewees, who are not very interested in learning about British democracy or British history – as the UK citizenship curriculum demands (Home Office, 2005b). Instead, they want to know about 'rights and duties at a local level' (Bellis & Morrice, 2003:83), that is about social services, the health and education systems and where to go for help. From the above, it can be concluded that adult education classes are a way for migrants to build social networks which, as we saw in the previous section, is a prerequisite for social involvement.

Westwood (1991), from a more critical point of view, maintains that citizenship requires knowledge, and that knowledge is not unrelated to issues of power. Drawing from Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital',<sup>24</sup> she asserts that culture is also linked to power and that different cultures possess different degrees of power. In order thus to encourage migrants' social involvement, this unequal access to knowledge and power should be challenged. Adult education can play a role in that through 'offering value to

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<sup>24</sup> An individual's acquired cultural skills and management of cultural codes (Bourdieu, 1997a:47-51).

a wide range of cultural competencies and through demonstrating means by which cultural capital can be generated' (ibid:172).

Although limited, the literature on migrants' adult education and citizenship draws attention to the possible contribution adult education can make towards access to socio-cultural capital and the ability to be effectively involved in society. Nonetheless, despite the examination of the ways in which adult education can be a catalyst for social involvement, we have not explored yet how different approaches to adult education respond to the issue of migrants' citizenship.



## **2.3 Adult Education Traditions and Citizenship**

The difficulties of resettlement do not always allow migrants to engage with adult education. Nonetheless, as it is significant for migrants to speak the language of the host community, it is often the case that different organisations offer second language adult education classes. These organizations are found in varied settings and have different aims and educational philosophies. These settings, aims and philosophies, in turn, indicate different traditions of adult education, which foster diverse conceptions of citizenship. Thus, although we have already put forward a framework with the skills and abilities adult education classes should develop in order to promote active citizenship, it is also important to understand the epistemology and ontology of a class's approach in order to explore how these impact on the endorsement of migrants' social involvement and to see how compatible their practical implications are with the above framework.

There is no single taxonomy under which all theorists and practitioners classify adult education perspectives. Spence (1998:12-14) notes how authors form their typologies based on different aspects of the educational process and product. In this way, students' purpose for embarking on an educational experience, the curriculum designer's wider social aims or the philosophy behind a certain educational process can all offer diverse classifications. Hence, Selman (in Spence, *ibid*:14) categorises adult education into credential, personal development and social action oriented education; Tett (1996:155) divides it according to the technical, establishing status, reproducing social structures and revolutionary functions; and Elias and Merriam (2005) categorise it into liberal, progressive, behaviourist, humanist, radical and postmodernist adult education.

The variety of typologies indicates that the borders between different perspectives are not clear. Not only are theories interpreted differently, but they also influence each other. Moreover, practitioners draw from a variety of paradigms and students have a multiplicity of goals that they want to achieve through their educational experiences. As a result, the boundaries between adult education perspectives are often blurred and aspects of ideas or practices can fall under more than one paradigm. Still, as Foley (2000a:21) argues, the construction of a taxonomy, regardless of its problematic nature, is an important heuristic device, helping to identify basic theoretical and value assumptions of different practices.



The typology employed in this study follows the model put forward by Foley (ibid) who formulates his classification according to the epistemology assumed in each approach. Accordingly, the description of the different paradigms in this chapter will be divided under the subheadings of functionalist, liberal and radical adult education. Classification on the basis of epistemology is considered particularly relevant to the specific study, as questions relating to knowledge access and production are crucial in determining conceptions of citizenship. Accordingly, epistemology affects whether dominant ideas are challenged or not, the level of inclusion of different voices, and the infusion of these voices in the shaping of a common future.

Before discussing the epistemology of each paradigm, the wider theoretical foundations of each perspective will be reviewed. To these aspects will be added a discussion of their response to learners' needs and the practices employed in the learning space. This typology will be later used to analyse second language adult education provision in relation to the levels and types of socio-political engagement it endorses for students.

## **2.3.1 Functionalist Perspective**

### **2.3.1.1 Theoretical Underpinnings**

The functionalist approach to adult education draws from a view of society, which considers social institutions and structures – including education – as interrelated and interdependent, functioning as an organic whole for the common good. A theorist widely associated with functionalism is Parsons. He thinks ‘society is a type of social system which attains the highest level of self-sufficiency as a system in relation to its environments’ (Parsons, 1969:10). Parsons (1969) sees the societal community as consisting of all the values, norms, rights and obligations, which may vary for different social sub-groups. However, the maintenance of a broadly shared common cultural orientation as the basis of its societal identity is considered to be vital for the survival of any community. Parsons does not preclude symbiosis with population elements only partially integrated, but insists there must be a core of fully integrated members. This does not imply that functionalism views the constitution of a societal community as static. Rather, Parsons claims that, when structural conditions create appropriate institutionalised slots, new members can become included in an existing community through a process similar to the ‘supply and demand’ paradigm of economics.

Referring to children – rather than to new adult members of a society – Durkheim (1972:203-205) theorises about the role of education in perpetuating and reinforcing the necessary homogeneity for each community’s preservation. Education, whether seen as occurring via the formal structures of schooling or through patterns of informal socialisation, is thus seen by functionalists as the means by which society prepares in its members the essential conditions for its own existence. This is achieved through developing a certain intellectual, moral and physical human ideal. Submitting to these social requirements is regarded by Durkheim as in the interest of the individual, since it is believed to make their life within society feasible.

These ideas raise important issues in relation to education, and to migrants’ education in particular. First, Parsons’ insistence on the independence of each social system was debatable long before the emergence of the globalisation discourse.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the perception of an anthropomorphic society with a consciousness of its own is rather deterministic. With individuals subsumed by the homogeneous collective, there is

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<sup>25</sup> Which we will discuss in Chapter Three.



little space for different ideas to be heard. Durkheim favours a certain level of diversity that ensures the organic integration of a body-like society, reinforced by education's own diversification and specialisation. This diversity is expected to bring about adaptive structural change to ensure the orderly maintenance of society. Hence, it is not open to plurality and genuine transformation.

Given that society is perceived as a natural being, functionalism interprets knowledge as something essentially objective that can and should be developed according to the way it is built in the natural sciences. Positivist epistemology aims to discover universal laws drawing from generalisations based on factual empirical study, and as such, claims immunity to subjectivity (Foley, 2000a:16-18; Boshier, 1999:10-13). Preoccupied with description of how things work, functionalism is criticised for explaining phenomena in terms of their consequences, oblivious to the reasons and interests hidden behind them. Searching for 'practical solutions to practical problems', functionalism serves the purpose of social engineering for the maintenance of an orderly equilibrium (Boshier, 1999:11).

In this way, functionalist adult education legitimates and instils respect for the existing elite and dominant culture through transmitting knowledge as if it were objective and neutral (Tett, 1996:19). However, as Jarvis (1985:137-139) argues, functionalist education does not merely serve to reproduce the cultural system by transmitting the established culture. Those most likely to succeed within this social framework are those who, as a result of birth and upbringing, already acquire the appropriate cultural capital. Thus, functionalist adult education can be seen as contributing positively to the mechanisms whereby hegemony is maintained and makes it more difficult for individuals with different cultural background, such as migrants, to escape from peripheral social positions.

The above epistemological criticisms indicate how, rather than serving the actual needs of the learners,<sup>26</sup> functionalist adult education mirrors the current concerns of neo-liberal governments for a more skilled labour force, equipped to compete with others in the global marketplace (Spence, 1998:21). The above concerns are not new. Nietzsche (in Van Der Zee, 1996:162) had complained that educational institutions, far from seeking to civilise men and society, teach people to be functionaries and become marketable. Thus, by conceptualising the problem as being about employment and

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<sup>26</sup> Individual or collective ones.



training,<sup>27</sup> the solutions that follow prioritise flexibility, which needs to be achieved through the development of vocational skills and the updating of knowledge (Tett, 2002:16-17).

The 'Human Resource Development' theory (HRD), which has now developed into a major functionalist educational approach, appeared in the early 1960s and openly established a strong link between investment in education and economic growth. Rubenson (1992), highlighting the neo-Keynesian theoretical framework within which HRD was developed, insists that initially, the HRD concept provided an umbrella to cover both the conservative elements interested primarily in economic growth, and the reformists who, through educational expansion, aimed at the equalization of opportunity, income and ultimately power. However, he admits that the notion of equity, which was a crucial part of the human capital thinking in the 1960s, has now vanished. Moreover, with the present-day perception of entrepreneurship as one of the pillars of neo-liberal philosophy, lifelong learning<sup>28</sup> becomes a vital means for the individual's equipment with the necessary skills for becoming successful in terms of employability and profit making.

The relationship between HRD and the socio-political principles and values it underlies are obvious in Carnevale's (1992) benefits appraisal of such education for the employer, the community, the family and the individual. According to him, functionalist adult education benefits the employer through the endorsement of the work ethic. Through appropriate socialisation, it enables people to live together efficiently and effectively and reduces domestic violence. Moreover, it increases life expectancy and helps the family unit through offering better child-rearing practices and nutrition. In addition, he claims that it is through adult education that people learn to defer gratification in favour of benefits that accrue later in life, which further results in the raising of property values and the attraction of business in the community. Carnevale goes on to argue that education has consistently out-performed machine capital in its contribution to overall growth and that, especially for women and minoritised ethnic individuals, the relationship between education and earnings is particularly strong.

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<sup>27</sup> A conceptualisation that, as we will see later, is reflected in the UK, Scottish and Greek lifelong learning policies.

<sup>28</sup> In this thesis, the term 'lifelong learning' refers to the concept as it is endorsed in current EU and governmental policy and discourse, and not to what it could potentially signify. It is thus distinguished from 'adult education', the latter being used as a wider term that includes all different theoretical and practical approaches to the education of adults.

Carnevale's conservative values are clearly visible in his argument. The rooting of social problems – such as bad nutrition – in structural causes is overlooked; while there is an assumption that other problems – such as domestic violence – are restricted to families whose members lack formal education. In this way, social problems are attributed to the individual who becomes responsible for failing to properly participate in the otherwise well-functioning social system. Different language but similar ideas lie behind the contemporary lifelong learning discourse. EU publications on lifelong learning claim its contribution to several areas, such as personal fulfilment, social cohesion, active citizenship and equality. To convince readers that the social aspect of lifelong learning is not overlooked, it is put forward that investment in human capital decreases criminality, whilst it contributes towards individuals' well being (European Commission, 2001:3-4,8). Additionally, it is claimed that lifelong learning is a means for encouraging tolerance and respect towards other people and cultures (European Commission, 2004a:14).

Despite references to personal fulfilment, active citizenship and tolerance, the language of lifelong learning is contextualised in an emerging knowledge-based society, followed by wider economic and societal trends such as globalisation, demographic change, and the impact of information technologies. Responding to these challenges is posited as being dependent on investment in human capital (ibid). Subsequently, knowledge and competences are seen above all as powerful engines for economic growth. The assumed precariousness of the economic climate is, hence, used as a justification for the necessity to use lifelong learning in order to promote a skilled, trained and adaptable workforce. Accordingly, tackling inequality and social exclusion is reduced to removing barriers that prevent people from entering the labour market and that limit progression within it (European Commission, 2001).<sup>29</sup>

In order to be seen as fulfilling learners' needs, apart from the emphasis placed on skills – required so that countries compete on the global market – lifelong learning is promoted as developmental and cultural (Spence, 1998:43). As such, it offers learners the attainment of professional qualifications, occupational re-orientation or advancement and adaptation to changing circumstances (Jarvis, 1985:57-58). Still,

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29 Similar approaches to lifelong learning are evident in the member states as well. See for example, the UK Green Paper on 'The Learning Age' (DfEE, 1988), the White Paper on '21st Century Skills, Realising Our Potential: Individuals, Employers, Nation' (DfES, 2003) and the lifelong learning strategy for Scotland 'Life through Learning, Learning through Life' (Scottish Executive, 2003).



this learning operates within a framework of conventional assumptions about current social and economic arrangements, equating employees' interests with those of employers', undermining collective action and often resulting in more toil (Spence, 1998:47-50). In other words, the functionalist approach to adult education takes for granted the inevitability of capitalism, and thus aims to enable individuals to get on with current conditions – rather than to struggle against them. This type of adult education is what Jarvis (1985:45) characterises as functional to the system, moulding the individual to fit their niche in society.

### **2.3.1.2 Practical Implications**

The values and principles of functionalist adult education inherently influence the content of curriculum, methodology, assessment methods and relationship between educator and learner. The functionalist curriculum is planned in terms of the external purposes that it serves. The content reflects dominant ideas and worldviews, and initiates individuals into established knowledge, its forms and structures (ibid:49). Specific objectives that arise from the analysis of what skills are demanded by the socio-economic structure are central to the curriculum, which is preferably relevant to industry and commerce. The traditional values transmitted through functionalist adult education should foster attitudes and dispositions, such as entrepreneurship, and promote appropriate behavioural change and skills development. Finally, the functionalist curriculum is lock-step, assuming the necessity to complete one step of learning before moving into something new (Spence, 1998:63; Schugurensky, 2002).

Functionalist adult education has particular and behavioural objectives, which are set in advance and are non-negotiable. In order for these to be achieved, certain educational methods are being employed. As is the case in the Scottish Vocational Qualifications (SVQs) and the Greek Vocational Education Centre (KEK) courses, functionalist methods include competency-based instruction, technical/skills training, demonstration and practice, and standardised criterion-referenced testing. These didactic methodologies regard education as the transmission of knowledge and assume that teaching is a one-way communication process through which knowledge should be acquired and reproduced. The educator structures the environment through rewarding and punishing desirable and undesirable behaviour, whilst the learner tends to be regarded as an empty vessel that needs to be filled with the knowledge and wisdom that emanates from the teacher. The student is generally not given the opportunity to debate the knowledge that is being transmitted and thus didacticism



becomes a form of control through 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1997b:163-170) insofar as the method by which the content presented is authoritative and often authoritarian (Schugurensky, 2002; Jarvis, 1985:49,95-96).<sup>30</sup>

In the functionalist approach, assessment is an essential part of the teaching process. Assessment refers to any form of evaluation of the students' modified behaviour. Grading indicates a symbolic representation of the evaluation; and examination is the – usually formal – process of setting exercises that are completed, graded and the results published. Functionalist adult education emphasises the importance of public examinations, competition, teacher-set tasks and the meeting of standards. This formal method of evaluation is central to functionalist adult education as it helps define a social reality and then legitimate it. It reproduces the hierarchical relations in society and social mechanisms through which society operates, and provides status and identity to the candidate (Jarvis, 1985:119-121).

The functionalist adult educator's role is clearly demarcated as the one who transmits knowledge as a service delivery expert. In this 'banking' concept of education, the educators present themselves to their students as their necessary opposite; the knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing (Freire, 1996:52-53). The relationship between the educator and the learner is an unequal one with the learner depending entirely on the educator for knowledge, whilst the educator has nothing to learn from the learner.

### **2.3.1.3 The Functionalist Approach's Response to Citizenship**

From the above, we see the contradictions between the functionalist approach to adult education and the established framework for encouraging active involvement and citizenship. In relation to getting informed, this approach assumes the existence of a single truth, disallowing dissent and the search for alternative worldviews. Assimilation into the dominant way of thinking and culture is considered as a requirement for peripheral social groups to be accepted as equal citizens. The curriculum, serving external purposes and being set in advance, also deprives students from developing a sense of agency and from voicing their own issues, concerns and

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<sup>30</sup> It has already been drawn attention to the loose boundaries between the different paradigms when put in practice. It has to be noted that non-functionalist, student-centred and open learning methodology in particular, is frequently employed for the achievement of functionalist, adaptive outcomes (Edwards, 1993:180-185).

ideas. This is further reinforced by the prioritisation of vocationalism at the expense of other educational outcomes.

Furthermore, the lack of input of students in the educational process and the hierarchical relationship between tutor and students – as well as between tutor's knowledge and students' knowledges – act against the objectives of learning to work together and learning collectively. The individualistic values inherent in this approach, and the passive acceptance of society's social and political conditions, deter from developing social responsibility, finding common purpose and fostering collective identities. Finally, in relation to the understanding of issues of social exclusion, functionalist adult education follows a combination of the moral underclass and the social integrationist models,<sup>31</sup> blaming those who find themselves in the fringe of society for their social position. This adult education tradition, therefore, proves incompatible with the encouragement of citizenship and social involvement and is counterproductive to the endorsement of a progressive post-national society.

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<sup>31</sup> See Chapter One.



## **2.3.2 Liberal Perspective**

### **2.3.2.1 Theoretical Underpinnings**

The theory behind the liberal perspective of adult education is complex as liberalism has taken a plurality of forms. Part of the Enlightenment and the humanist traditions, and influenced by the French Revolution's civic republicanism, liberalism became one of the 'grand narratives' thoroughly affecting a wide array of disciplines. However, 'liberalism' would be a useless concept unless there were some broad consensus over its values. Four core principles are identified as the binding force behind liberal theories. These are individuality, in the sense of asserting a person's moral supremacy against the claims of social collectivities; democracy, in that all citizens benefit from the same legal status; universalism, in the form of maintaining the moral unity of human species; and progress, in envisioning the improvability of socio-political institutions and arrangements (Isin and Wood, 1999:143).

Due to liberalism's broad definition, there have been several efforts to categorise it. The taxonomy considered here to be the most useful for the analysis of liberal adult education is the distinction between forms of liberalism based upon the idea of the pursuit of 'the common good', and forms based upon the idea of personal rights. This classification between 'teleological' and 'deontological' liberalism<sup>32</sup> dates back to Muirhead (1932) who divided moral philosophy according to whether primacy is attributed to 'the good' or to 'the right'. Although in this thesis it will be argued that the differences between these two types of liberal adult education are less significant than their respective advocates claim, the teleology/deontology dichotomy still distinguishes two separate groups of proponents, as well as a historical schism in liberal adult education, and will therefore be used as the structure for this section.

Wiltshire (1976:31-34) differentiates the teleological liberal Great Tradition<sup>33</sup> from contemporary liberal adult education by (i) its commitment to a liberal/humane non-vocational curriculum, (ii) its perception of the student as a reflective citizen, (iii) the recruitment of students by self-selection regardless of previous education and (iv) the adoption of the Socratic method for teaching. Together with the fading of these

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<sup>32</sup> Deontological liberalism derives from the Kantian concept of 'categorical imperative' which refers to an absolute *a priori* morality required as an end in itself (Kant, 2002:33).

<sup>33</sup> Defined as the form of adult education that involves 'a humane curriculum, provision for active citizenship, non-vocational learning, and democratic and Socratic approaches to teaching' (Jarvis, 2002:80).



principles, Wiltshire also decries the overall loss of purpose and conviction in contemporary liberal adult education. Similarly, Lawson (1996; 1998:69-70) differentiates between the Great Tradition, whose ontology assumes a context-bound individual generating their autonomy within and through social involvement, and what he describes as the individualistic approach of contemporary liberal adult education, in which the individual is perceived as pre-existing to society. In view of that, Lawson draws attention to the Great Tradition's social vision, which he contrasts to the contemporary focus on 'neutral' personal educational preferences.

Although both theorists are advocates of the same educational tradition, Lawson moves beyond Wiltshire's mere criticism of the developments in liberal adult education by putting them in the context of the broader liberal theory. Thus, he considers the Great Tradition as an upshot of classical political liberalism and contemporary liberal adult education as the result of the current deontological turn in liberal theory. However, there is a problem in Lawson's argument, which lies with his treatment of teleological and deontological liberalism as completely unrelated traditions. This perception is important in interpreting liberal adult education, and therefore a deeper analysis of both literature on liberal education and the liberal philosophies they draw from is needed here.

Theorists of political liberalism have often encapsulated discussions on education in their writings. A significant figure of liberalism and teleological liberalism in particular, Mill, argues that a political sphere in which persons are able to make autonomous choices is necessary for the enjoyment of the happiness of individuality. Albeit there is no particular moral life in which all find happiness, there is a qualitatively higher level of happiness, and that is achieved through the deliberation among autonomous individuals. It is through education that individuals cultivate the necessary autonomy for competent political involvement and, in turn, through participation in local government and industry, those individuals' education and ability for decision-making develop further (1991a:24-28; 1991b:254). However, the making of autonomous individuals presupposes education of a certain kind. According



to Mill, plural education<sup>34</sup> encompassing different moralities, and its assured provision by the state to all those unable to defray the expense, is vital for a society to progress democratically (1991a:33-45). Moreover, it is imperative that this education should not simply assimilate individuals into existing social structures, but should induce desire – if not demand – for freedom. Lastly, the outcome of this education would be a society where citizens participate competently in the creation of a higher conception of citizenship.<sup>35</sup>

This conception of universal education as a necessary means for the creation of a democratic and cohesive society is a foundational principle of classical liberal adult education. Mansbridge (1913), a protagonist of the Great Tradition, perceives liberal adult education's purpose as the development of better citizens through the dissemination of knowledge. He thus opposes the use of adult education for other purposes, such as material or professional advancement, and rejects the idea of examinations for fear of endangering the intellectual freedom of the class. Adult students are regarded as valid social actors who, although expecting to receive the educator's knowledge, enter in a dialogue with the rest of the class through which all – including the educator – reconstruct their understandings. By means of this interaction, differences are put behind in the name of common humanity, leading to a bonded democratic society similar to that envisaged by Mill.

Particularly in relation to the University Tutorial Classes,<sup>36</sup> Mansbridge considers the alliance between working people and scholars as paramount for the intelligentsia to understand the working class's real conditions and worldviews. These academics are expected to subsequently influence the perceptions of every other institution in order to forestall the development of dangerous cleavages among the different social classes. In pursuit of a democratic society, education is seen as a space that should be unpartisan and equally welcoming to all kinds of political thought and religion. Hence,

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<sup>34</sup> Mill justifies the importance he ascribes to plurality by saying that '[W]e have hitherto considered only two possibilities: that the received opinion may be false, and some other opinion, consequently true; or that, the received opinion being true, a conflict with the opposite error is essential to a clear apprehension and deep feeling of its truth. But there is a commoner case than either of these; when the conflicting doctrines instead of being one true and the other false, share the truth between them; and the nonconforming opinion is needed to supply the remainder of the truth, of which the received doctrine embodies only a part' (1991a:51-52).

<sup>35</sup> That is, in this case, citizenship in the form of representative democracy, for it combines the ideal of widely based participation and the pragmatism of administration (Mill, 1991b).

<sup>36</sup> An educational setting intending to make the benefits of university-level education more readily available (Fieldhouse, 1998:166).



in order to preserve this impartiality, liberal adult education should refrain from using financial or other support provided by external institutions that could influence the educational outcome.

Although Mansbridge tries to dispel scepticism in relation to the collaboration of the working classes with traditionally elitist universities, Duke and Marriott (1973:34) justifiably describe his philosophy as 'centred around an apolitical enthusiasm for the co-operation of labour and learning and a sometimes mawkish reverence for the ancient universities and the "glory" of education'. Indeed, Mansbridge overlooks the predominance of middle class students in liberal education as well as the special moral status attributed to the educated professional class that had no other means of promoting itself but its educational background (ibid:33-34).

In reality, the reason why the Great Tradition has been acceptable to both the universities and the state is, as Fieldhouse (1977, 1998) indicates, precisely because through educating the working class, the upper and middle classes are safeguarded from any fundamental social upheavals. Similarly, Thomas (1982:14) challenges the idealism behind the Great Tradition arguing that the two reasons why the nineteenth century saw an extension in schooling were (i) the purely functional need for a literate and skilled workforce, and (ii) the aspiration to 'educate the wage workers in being good "citizens" of capitalism'.

Regardless of these criticisms, the appreciation of the qualities of university-based, high-status knowledge can still be found today. Paterson (1996:3-5), although less explicit about the wider social outcomes of classical liberal education, defines the mission of adult education as that of ensuring that individuals can appreciate the higher forms of knowledge, that they rise to the most worthwhile types of human experience, and that they engage in the most challenging types of activity. This indicates that the above criticisms in relation to the Great Tradition have been largely ignored by Paterson, who is making assumptions about a higher form of knowledge and life, without considering from whom these suppositions are derived, who they serve and, most importantly, what exactly makes them of superior value.

Dewey (1966:134), coming from a pragmatist and progressive North American background, broke from this long-established liberal educational tradition, criticising it for its mind-versus-body dualism. He attributes the division between intellectual and technical education to the prejudiced beliefs of societal stratification and urges educators to value not merely abstract knowledge. Dewey contends that the material



of thinking is actions, events and relations to things; in other words thinking is founded on experiences. Building on that, he challenges traditional liberal education to recognise the educative importance of the environment and to abandon education for abstract ends. Opposing the liberal idea of seeking knowledge for its own sake, Dewey is an adamant supporter of the combination of cognitive and experiential education through problem solving activities; education in itself and education that unambiguously contributes to the individual and the wider society as a pragmatic means to fostering a community in which all share in useful service and all enjoy a worthy leisure.

Whereas some authors (e.g. Elias & Merriam, 2005; Finger & Asún, 2000; Schugurensky, 2002) distinguish progressivism from liberal adult education, and notwithstanding the challenges this theory has made to the Great Tradition, Dewey's values still fall within the framework of liberalism. Despite the epistemological differences in relation to the nature of knowledge and the means for its acquisition, the aims of engaging with learning and the significance of knowledge in progressivism and the Great Tradition have the same implications for the concept and practice of citizenship. Indeed, Dewey's education fosters a variety of values that promote the liberal ideology. Although not clear how progressive education could help in achieving its socio-political aim of breaking down social divisions and the problems that accompany them, education is viewed as a transformative means necessary for the realization of a cohesive society, in which all individuals develop their aptitudes and work for the common good alongside their own well-being.

Dewey's work has had a significant influence on ensuing educational philosophy. Even if the target of his educational theories is children, Dewey's belief that social life has an intrinsic educative function is applicable to the totality of age groups. Lindeman<sup>37</sup> (1961), who became a strong advocate of the field in North America, applied these ideas specifically to adult education. Moreover, Dewey's ideas were adopted and adapted by various other adult educationalists. One eminent figure is Kolb (1984), whose model emphasises the linkages between the classroom and the 'real world', and stresses the role of formal education in developing individuals to their full potential as citizens, family members and human beings. Kolb's experiential learning is best

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<sup>37</sup> Lindeman can also be conceived as a representative of radical adult education (e.g Collins, 1995). This reflects the idea that progressive educational ideas have significantly affected radical adult education – especially, in relation to the importance of problem-posing and experiential education – but it also reminds us that educational theories are interconnected in the form of overlapping circles.



conceived as a process, rather than as outcomes, as a continuous holistic process of adaptation to the world involving transactions between the person and the environment. Although in this theory there are still references to citizenship, they are notably abstract, with a significantly less specified social vision. This reflects the intellectual turn from teleological to deontological liberalism, according to which, whereas education ought to make individuals aware of their constitutional and civic rights, it should stop short of promoting a comprehensive view of 'the good' (Rawls, 1999).

Another influential concept that falls within the liberal adult education spectrum and which, like progressivism, puts the students and the practicalities of their lives in its centre, is that of 'andragogy' (Knowles, 1984). The andragogical model regards the adult learner as entering an educational activity with both a greater volume and a different quality of experience from the youth. This different experience derives from the adult's social roles, which create a need to know or do something as a means of performing more effectively in some aspect of their lives. In this way, adults enter an educational activity with a life-centred or task-centred orientation to learning. The chief implication of this assumption is the importance of organising the curriculum around life situations, relevant to learners' life tasks, rather than according to subjects. This is what Lawson (1996:35; 1998:70) referred to above, when he criticised contemporary liberal adult education for attributing primacy to 'neutral' personal educational choices to the detriment of social aims.

Contrary to the traditional liberal epistemology where the teacher is the knowledge holder, in the andragogical model the learners are involved in the planning of the curriculum, diagnosing their own needs, formulating their objectives, and evaluating their learning. In other words, the educational structure is based on a learning contract where the facilitator and the students participate together in creating a climate of mutual respect, authenticity and trust, where participants support one another, and where, besides, they enjoy themselves (Knowles, 1984:14-18). These ideas, apart from displaying the bearing of progressive liberal education, also reflect the values of humanistic thought. Humanism 'stresses the uniqueness of human existence, in particular human freedom, and the possibility of self-development (Finger & Asún, 2000:62) and shares the founding liberal belief in human autonomy and dignity. Humanism perceives human nature as genuinely good. Hence, through the combination of reason, compassion and empathy, humans can develop their potentiality in achieving the good life both for them and for others. Similarly to progressivism, humanistic adult education can be perceived as a separate theory from



liberal adult education. Nonetheless, humanistic ideas have been inextricably linked to liberalism from its very beginning (Elias & Merriam, 2005:111).

The most eminent figure of humanistic adult education is Rogers whose experience as a psychological counsellor generated a deep appreciation for the values of communication. In his book *Freedom to Learn* (1969), he argues that dialogue founded on trust for people to be essentially competent human beings assists individuals in developing clear and deep self-insights that can help them to become proactive in solving their problems. Rogers draws from Maslow (1970) who regards motivation for education as an inner drive to fulfil various needs, which arrange themselves in a hierarchy, starting from the most basic needs of survival and security to the higher needs for belongingness, self-esteem and self-actualisation. This insight made Rogers challenge his role as a teacher. Thus by ceasing to be a teacher and becoming a resourceful, fallible, human facilitator allowing students to take control over their communication with one another and over their learning of content material, students can blossom as growing human beings. This involves a process where students lose their social masks, reflect on the world around them and come up with the most interesting ideas. This process is expected to gradually make students experience the feeling of responsible freedom.

Rogers views knowledge as being in constant flux, and thus finds any teacher's imparting of an identifiable body of knowledge as worthless, subsequently to become redundant. The goal of education should thus be to learn how to learn, how to adapt to change, to realize that no knowledge is secure and that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis of security. A reliance on the process rather than on static knowledge is thus for humanism the only logical goal for education in the modern world. While humanistic adult education contests the belief in a static truth as perceived in traditional liberal adult education, it still believes that the search for knowledge is highly advantageous for the growth of humans. Through the collective process of learning, individuals develop, fulfil their potentiality and make responsible choices that would benefit both them and humanity as a whole. Adhering to deontological perceptions, humanistic adult education refrains from prescribing a particular image of the sought after developed humanity, but humanistic adult education itself is regarded as a vital means for achieving this ideal.

Contemporary liberal adult education has been criticised for the assumption that self-actualised individuals will automatically constitute a better society. Finger and Asún characterise this supposition as sociologically naïve, 'ahistorical, astructural, apolitical



and non-institutional' (2000:73). Both progressivism and humanism confuse learning and growth as they presume that facilitation and self-directed learning automatically lead to self-actualisation. Furthermore, the impact of humanistic psychology on liberal adult education is considered to promote an approach that is, above all, therapeutic and individualistic, which as Finger and Asún claim, further endorses individualism.

As already seen, the focus on individual learners above academic subjects differentiates contemporary from traditional adult education. Finger and Asún attribute the student-centeredness, in contrast to the subject-centeredness, of both progressive and humanistic adult education to their North American origin and its individualist ideology. They argue that European adult education, due to its more socio-political nature, pays attention to removing inequalities, whereas 'American adult education considers that inequality results from a lack of individual opportunities ... not surprisingly, American adult education focuses on individuals and individual learning' (ibid:99-100). Undeniably, the ideological context within which educational theories develop has a significant impact on the theories' principles and values. Nonetheless, deontological liberal adult education is becoming increasingly popular outside its original regional stronghold, and the North American individualism within which it developed is not a sufficient explanation for its focus.

A different and thought-provoking explanation is offered by Keddie (1980), who links adult education with primary and remedial education. She attributes these educational fields' focus on pedagogic skills above academic qualifications to their low status in the educational system. Keddie also agrees with Lawson (1996, 34-35; 1998:69) in depicting contemporary liberal adult education's perception of the learner as an abstract, universal individual rather than as a socially and historically situated person. Keddie's argument is, though, more critical in remarking that the emphasis on individual *need* in contemporary liberal adult education blurs the competitive edge of individual achievement. She asserts that terms such as 'individual need' and 'student-centeredness' are socially constituted and make adult education more readily available to certain groups, whilst the decontextualised discussion of disadvantage attributes educational failure to the individuals themselves, disregarding the failings of the educational system.

Keddie's argument reveals how student-centred liberal adult education is oriented towards the same dominant or middle class values that are reflected by the educational system as a whole. Consequently, humanistic and progressive adult education can be criticised in the same way as the Great Tradition for their concern



with helping individuals to adapt to dominant educational and social structures, rather than questioning the modes by which education controls differential access to knowledge and power (Keddie, 1980). In other words, while liberal adult education seeks to compensate for any disadvantage and to promote personal fulfilment, it does not challenge students to make the world a better place (Kane, 2000:11-14).

Likewise, Field (1996:137-138) demonstrates how in modern western societies liberal adult education can also be regarded as a form of consumption. As western societies as a whole become more affluent, greater numbers of individuals are able to exercise choice over how they spend their money, how they use their time and what educational activities they attend. The citizen is thus seen as a consumer, and liberal adult education activities can be understood as consumer goods in themselves; optional services purchased as a result of choice. Field's criticism is not specifically of liberal adult education, but on the wider conceptualisation of the citizen as a consumer. Yet he does disapprove of liberal adult education's acceptance, exploitation and consequently reinforcement of this perception.

As already seen, the Great Tradition has been doubted for its commitment to the social values it proclaims (Duke & Marriott, 1973:36; Fieldhouse, 1977; Fieldhouse, 1998; Thomas, 1982:14). Thompson (1997) asserts that the Great Tradition actually helped to pave the way for the later individualistic liberal adult education. Despite claims of dedication to universal qualities of reason and democracy, the voices of oppressed groups were missing from the Great Tradition classrooms as was knowledge that sought to reveal the causes of hardship and oppression. Likewise, Wallis and Allman (1996) find liberal adult education – both traditional and contemporary – wanting in that it does not go much deeper than creating less hierarchical structures in the classroom in terms of penetrating the very essence of our social being. Liberal adult education aims to influence – rather to challenge the present or future – through offering individuals the very best of what had been developed educationally in the past (ibid:163-164). In other words, liberal adult education concentrates on 'useful', rather than 'really useful knowledge' (Johnson, 1988). Despite whatever learning for its own sake or learning for pleasure had provided across the years, it had not been sufficient to create a movement of committed students to defend it. The culture of the Great Tradition cultivated instead an essentially individualistic uncommitted student body that was equally suited by contemporary liberal adult education (Thompson, 1997:134).



The above indicates that the distinction between teleological and deontological liberal adult education, although real, is not as great as the proponents of the different schools claim it to be. Moreover, from the criticisms discussed, there seems to be a strong voice requiring liberal adult education to go much deeper in its effort to liberate the human mind and contribute to socio-cultural development. However, it would be imbalanced not to also draw attention to the positive contributions of liberal adult education, which have led to its recognition and popularity.<sup>38</sup>

Liberal education's ontological view of human beings as reflective citizens and social actors attributes students a potential without which there can be no development. The importance attributed to the search for knowledge and to adult education itself are also significant values. Accordingly, Williams (1983a:218) comes in support of liberal adult education, not denying liberal adult education's individualism, but explaining it as deriving from a high sense of dignity and desire for autonomy. This kind of individualism is thus very different from the one based on the value of riches as the main end of humans.<sup>39</sup> Hence, although the reality of liberal adult education might have not fulfilled its aims, its principles are still important for the creation of a pluralistic, inclusive and democratic state.

### **2.3.2.2 Practical Implications**

Issues relating to curriculum, methodology, evaluation and student-educator relationship have already emerged from the theoretical discussion of liberal adult education. Evidently, as disparities exist within the various liberal adult education schools, there are also divergent practices followed amongst them. However, this section will seek to provide an overall account of the major practical implications of liberal adult education theory.

The liberal curriculum, and in particular that of traditional liberal adult education, is largely set by the educator in advance, with the aim of developing, stimulating, and disciplining the mind through the study of principles and absolutes (Schugurensky, 2002). Yet, while the educator is the one who has the best access to established

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<sup>38</sup> Such a popular setting of liberal adult education are, for example, the university evening classes.

<sup>39</sup> The problem with liberalism for Williams actually stems from the very early crystallisation of its liberating ideas, turning them into a dogma when the context of industrial order was still young and its socio-political consequences rather unknown (1983a:218).



knowledge, the learners are also considered to be critical individuals, who are capable and responsible for fulfilling their needs, are given the ability to negotiate parts of the curriculum. However, as we saw above, this pursuit of neutral and unconnected to the practicalities of life and society knowledge has not only been strongly opposed by radical adult educators (Freire, 1996), but also by progressivists and humanists within liberal adult education itself.

Although it is believed that education in itself has value without necessarily meeting further needs,<sup>40</sup> students – and particularly those in contemporary liberal adult education – are expected to be motivated by their personal wants and yearnings. In return, liberal adult education curricula aim to respond to individual student's desires and fulfil their objectives. In deontological adult education, where trust in a universal, perpetual knowledge is challenged, the students' needs, preferences and desires become all the more the foundation for curriculum choices. Accordingly, the concern of teleological liberal adult education with developing reflective citizens and thus with the education of classical humanistic subjects – such as social sciences and literature – (e.g. Wiltshire, 1976) is being replaced by a concern with students' growth and therefore with the process of learning rather than with the curriculum itself (e.g. Rogers, 1969; Knowles, 1984).

The methodology of traditional liberal adult education is focused on the educator challenging students to absorb information through lectures, reading, question-and-answers, teacher-led discussion and individual study. The learners are then encouraged to think critically on the information they receive. It is important to make clear that teleological liberal adult education is not oriented towards mere transmission of knowledge and acquisition of skills, but towards conceptual and theoretical understandings of truth (Elias & Merriam, 2005:28). The liberal methodology involves the tutor either taking the students through a prepared, logical sequence of questions, or replying to the students' response with further questions. But as this Socratic method encourages a dialectic way of thinking, the responsibility to formulate the answers, to come up with the anticipated knowledge or alternatively to reach a new position in knowledge from that which had been reached previously remains with the learners. Indeed, the knowledge to which the students are led tends to be the established knowledge. Nonetheless, the fact that learners are given the

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<sup>40</sup> That is referring especially to practical needs.



opportunity to reach their own conclusions creates a situation in which a more explicit reflective learning process is encouraged (Jarvis, 1985:96-97).

Deontological liberal adult education, as already mentioned, promotes a distinct methodology to that of teleological liberal education, concentrating on the students rather than on the curriculum that is to be taught.<sup>41</sup> It is based on the students' experiences and needs, encouraging the class to search for knowledge and leading towards a problem-solving, student-centred methodology. Self-actualisation is not considered to occur in isolation from others and thus growth is best fostered in a co-operative, supportive environment. Informal discussions, group work, study-circles and small group projects are expected to foster this ideal environment (Elias & Merriam, 2005:34,64-74,124-131). At the same time respect for each student's individual learning style<sup>42</sup> is deemed central in the choice of methodology (Kolb, 1984), which implies concentrating on students' aptitudes above skills and knowledge. This approach, although it has become increasingly popular, has not remained uncriticised. Thus, Foley indicates how this focus on process can lead to inattention towards the content of education and its social and ethical outcomes (Foley, 2000b:56).

Evaluation in liberal adult education takes place through essays, critical analysis, and discussion. However, the emphasis of liberal adult education is upon learning rather than upon formal assessment. The informal methods of self-assessment by the learner and peer assessment are often used as a means of getting feedback, both for the student to be aware of their progress and for the educator to direct their work. On the other hand if the educational experience leads to some form of accreditation, more formal forms of assessment may also be applied (Schugurensky, 2002; Jarvis, 1985:49). The increasing external push towards accreditation has, however, become the centre of an intense debate and several liberal adult educators have fought for adult education's assessment to remain as informal as possible (e.g. Duke & Marriott, 1973; Hoggart, 2001).

The position of the adult educator in traditional liberal adult education is prominent. The educator is still the major possessor of knowledge, which they transmit to the

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<sup>41</sup> This is increasingly the case in second language education.

<sup>42</sup> The theory of 'learning styles' argues that each individual has distinctive 'adaptive orientations resulting from unique individual programming of the basic but flexible structure of human learning' (Kolb, 1984:97).



learners. However, educators are never fully knowledgeable and are expected to constantly improve their expertise of the subject (Elias & Merriam, 2005:35). Liberal adult educators are expected to become increasingly specialised, either in working with particular groups or in specialist areas, but they have to remain impartial and neutral in relation to educational values (Tett, 1996:159). Thus, the liberal educator, rather than imposing knowledge, offers access to their expertise through creating a situation where learning may occur.

It is particularly the deontological liberal adult education approach that considers the educator-student relationship. The ideas of facilitation convert the classroom relationships into a social contract where the students and educator equally and collectively embark on the educational experience. The facilitation of learning is based on the principles of being real, praising the students, and having an empathic understanding of their needs and yearnings. Yet, although the students are the driving force of the educational process, Rogers (1969) cautions educators not to take a peripheral role but to actually use their power as learning facilitators in order to enable learners to exercise theirs.

### **2.3.2.3 The Liberal Approach's Response to Citizenship**

The ontology and epistemology of traditional liberal adult education makes it particularly relevant to citizenship. Relating to the practical framework of the study, the liberal non-vocational curriculum endorses the exploration of different ideas, realities and values, encouraging the development of critical thinking. Nonetheless, this is not as much the case in the more deontological approach, which concentrates on the process of the educational experience at the expense of the content. At the same time, assumptions of traditional liberal adult education about higher forms of knowledge can also have a negative impact on the openness towards ideas and values coming from below. Despite these criticisms, the participation of the students in the exploration of different worldviews, whether these derive from the curriculum or from classmates, can contribute towards students getting a voice. At the same time, this process encourages students to formulate and defend their own arguments.

The unpartisan educational space of liberal adult education, despite permitting a plurality of voices, makes it difficult to work with social movements. This is not as much the case in teleological liberal education, which has a social vision and therefore nurtures the ideas of social responsibility and human agency. Deontological liberal



adult education, however, not only refrains from imposing a perception of 'good', but it is also less interested in such an idea. Moreover, its conception of knowledge as relative, may allow different voices to be heard, but makes no commitment to them. The educational experience can therefore become an individualist and therapeutic one, often not acknowledging the socio-historical context of individuals' lives. This student-centeredness can thus lead to the losing sight of the public, which is detrimental to the development of citizenship and social involvement.

Despite these shortcomings, liberal adult education makes a significant contribution towards learning to work together. The classroom setting tends to foster a sense of community, promotes co-operation and builds social capital. The democratic methodology and the breaking down of hierarchies foster collaborative learning and could be used in other social settings as a model for working democratically and dealing with difference. In conclusion, drawing from the compatibility of this approach's theoretical and methodological underpinnings with the study's citizenship framework, liberal adult education does not inhibit the development of citizenship but neither does it fully promote it.

## **2.3.3 Radical Perspective**

### **2.3.3.1 Theoretical Underpinnings**

The radical perspective, based on its particular epistemological and ontological beliefs, presents a distinct view of society and a different role for adult education. Radical or 'social purpose' adult education has a long and rich tradition, which according to Fieldhouse (in Johnston, 1999:176), aims at 'providing individuals with knowledge which they can use collectively to change society if they so wish, and particularly equipping members of the working class with the intellectual tools to play a full role in a democratic society or to challenge the inequalities and injustices of society in order to bring about radical social change'. Likewise, Holst (2002:4-5) uses the term to describe adult education theory and practice dedicated to significant transformation within left-wing political traditions. As he explains, the concept of 'significant social transformation' refers to what has traditionally been called social democratic practices or reforms, and the term 'left-wing' purposefully excludes the politics of right-wing movements, which could also be branded as radical but which are ultimately reactionary and conservative.

Radical adult education rests on a worldview largely affected by Marxist ideas. Despite the fact that Marx did not write specifically on education, his ontological and epistemological ideas have greatly influenced radical adult education. According to Marx, society does not consist of atomised individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relationships within which these individuals stand. Marx argues that, seen from the perspective of society, there are no slaves and no citizens: both are human beings. The issue is whether these humans are inside or outside society. Hence, to be a slave or to be a citizen is a social characteristic built on human relationships (Marx, 1978a:247). These human relationships, however, are not fixed. Although according to the hitherto materialist doctrine humans are socially constructed through circumstances and upbringing, Marx – arguing that reality should not be merely conceived in the form of object or contemplation but also as conscious activity – asserts that 'it is men who change circumstances' (1978b:144) through their very action.

Between activity and contemplation exists a reciprocal relation. Ideas and consciousness are shaped by the material behaviour of society and the same applies to all superstructural aspects, such as the law, politics, morality and education. But as humans are capable of acting critically and consciously, they can also shape their



material reality and thus become the actual producers of their own conceptions and ideas. Nonetheless, 'the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force' (Marx, 1978c:172). Hence, the class that has control over the means of material production also controls the means of mental production. Its ruling ideas are an expression of the dominant material relationships and are a presentation of this class's interest as the common interest of all members of society, which is achieved by presenting the ruling ideas as the only rational and universally valid ones (ibid:154-155, 172-174).

Despite his views on the ideological power of the ruling class, Marx's perception of humans as social actors, and of critical praxis as an innate human activity, offers a worldview where emancipation becomes possible. Emancipation in Marxist thought presupposes the critical understanding of how the ideology of the dominant class blinds one from one's real interests, but also relies on acting upon the social relations that support it. This interrelation of critical thought and human agency is a founding principle for radical adult education (Freire, 1996), which perceives the need to fight both in the economic base and the superstructural realm, and is encapsulated by Marx's attack on abstract academic thinking for merely interpreting the world. '[T]he point is', he argues, 'to change it' (Marx, 1978b:145).

Gramsci, rejecting the economic determinism of the Second International, which had reduced society's superstructure to a mere reflection of the material base, highlighted the dialectical reciprocity between base and superstructure (Morgan, 1987:297). Drawing from Marx, Gramsci argues that the ruling class dominates, not only through coercion, but mostly through consent which takes place through the acceptance and internalisation of dominant attitudes as 'common sense' (Ledwith, 1984:8). This ideological control, Gramsci (1964:124) terms 'hegemony', and argues that its overthrow is an indispensable part of the revolutionary strategy. He states that the fight against hegemony involves a 'war of position', that is the ideological battle between emerging and established ideas. For this battle to take place the rising social group has to have developed its own 'organic intellectuals', whose function is to give the group homogeneity through determining new concepts and discourses that challenge the hegemonic beliefs and promote the interests of their group. This prominent role of intellectuals does not undermine the cognitive abilities of the rest of the population, as for Gramsci all people are intellectuals. However, organic intellectuals, just like the 'traditional intellectuals' of the established class, serve a different function.



We can see that adult education is a vital element in Gramsci's revolutionary strategy, both for the emergence of organic intellectuals and for the educational development of common people. Organic intellectuals are expected to utilize adult education in order to help individuals determine new concepts and discourses, and in order to combine theory and practical knowledge (ibid:123). Adult education is also useful for the attainment of the necessary 'socio-cultural unity through which individual wills and heterogeneous aims are welded together for the same goal on the basis of an equal and common conception of the world' (Gramsci, 1995:156).

Gramsci also asserts that adult cultural organisations should become a meeting ground for common people and intellectuals. These centres should not engage solely in abstract contemplation. Instead, based on the Marxist idea of 'praxis' that combines theory and practical knowledge, they should help link existing knowledge with activities of collective life and with the world of production and labour. At the same time, Gramsci expects that periodic congresses at different levels will be able to bring the most capable people to general notice (ibid:145-146). From the above it is clear that, although Gramsci's writings have a political objective, he still makes a major contribution to educational theory.

The most renowned radical adult education advocate is Freire. Both an educator and a theorist, he views adult education as a superstructural part of society that, although not in itself the key to transformation, is of great importance in the socio-historical processes of change (Torres & Freire, 1993:104). Freire's worldview is heavily drawn from Marxist thought. He asserts that humans' 'ontological vocation' is to be social actors, who through informed action, transform the world. The fulfilling of this ontological vocation should be the objective of adult education. Drawing from Gramsci's idea of hegemony, Freire claims that the oppressed have internalised both the dominant ideas and the dominant classes' opinion of themselves. This leads to self-depreciation and an assumption of ignorance, which in turn make the oppressed dependent on their oppressors in their search for truth and knowledge. The exposing of the internalised oppressor – in the form of ideology – is according to Freire a prerequisite for liberation and liberating education (Freire, 1996:30,45).

The human essence is a focal point in Freire's theory. Freire's ontology denies the perception of humans as abstract, independent and unattached to the world. Authentic reflection, drawing from Marx's view of society, is perceived to consider 'neither abstract man nor the world without people, but people in their relations with the world' (ibid:62). Moreover, Freire insists that only those fully human can be



liberated. The oppressed have been deprived of their humanity because their oppressive situation – and education – has reduced them to objects. In order ‘to regain their humanity they must cease to be things and fight as men and women. This is a radical requirement. They cannot enter the struggle as objects in order *later* to become human beings’ (ibid:50).

Freire describes how the established dehumanising ‘banking education’, based on hierarchical structures, treats students as objects, depositories of compartmentalised knowledge based on a perception of a static reality as presented by the subject – teacher. Contrary to that, Freire has a profound trust in people’s potential for transformation, which requires the perception of the reality of oppression as a restrictive but changeable situation, followed by a struggle for liberation. Accordingly, contrary to banking education, which attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness, he puts forward an adult education that strives for the emergence of consciousness<sup>43</sup> and critical intervention in reality. Further, as the choice between these two objectives is a political one, Freire perceives education as never being politically neutral (ibid; Shor & Freire, 1987:13).

This pedagogy with – not for – the oppressed is the pedagogy of people engaged in the fight for their own liberation and has its roots in true dialogue. Collective invention and reinvention through inquiry is for Freire the only means for gaining real knowledge. This dialogue is critical and liberating, presupposing action and varies in content according to historical conditions and the perceptions of reality of the oppressed. Dialogue requires a profound love for the world and the people, faith in humankind, hope and critical thinking over a non-static reality. Moreover, true dialogue is based on humility and creates trust between the interlocutors. This dialogical relationship requires and furthers an equal relation between educators and their students, thus reconciling the teacher-student contradiction of banking education, and leading to the co-existence of teacher-student and student-teacher within everyone’s role (Freire, 1996:58).

Freire's philosophy, although very popular amongst adult educators, has not remained uncriticised. Evans (1987:25) attacks Freire for not having succeeded in bringing about change in Brazil and Chile where his methods have been used for a significant amount of time. He argues that it is difficult to comprehend how the educator can

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<sup>43</sup> This is what Freire defines as ‘conscientization’.

produce that decisive shift in people's consciousness, and that notions of dialogue and conscientization are too vague. Indeed, Freirian adult education is not encountered nearly as often as functionalist and liberal adult education. Yet Freire himself has drawn attention to the difficulties of his pedagogy claiming that the strength of education lies precisely in its limitations and the impossibility of doing everything. Freire recognizes that the limits of education would bring a naïve person to desperation, but maintains that a dialectical person would discover in these limits the *raison d'être* for their potential (Torres & Freire, 1993:106). Evans continues his criticism arguing that Freire descends to idealism for ascribing such power to words, but it is clear that Evans does not comprehend the phenomenological position of Freire which overcomes idealism and materialism through a dialectical unity of reflection and action, and which he makes explicit through his discussion of praxis (Freire, 1996:32-33).

Another considerable condemnation of Freire is put forward by feminists for his failing to address the various forms of power held by educators as a result of their race, gender, class or institutional setting in which they work (Weiler, 1993:16-18; hooks, 1994:45-58). This was initially true and Freire reviewed his argument stressing that there is a need for recognising multiple constructions of power and authority appearing in forms such as race, class and sexual preference (Freire, 1994:66-68). Other criticisms include the irrelevance of Freire's pedagogy in the West (Evans, 1987:25), which has, however, been put into actual practice (e.g. Kirkwood & Kirkwood, 1989; Manthou, 1999).

Many contemporary authors are committed to radical adult education. Johnston (1999:176) identifies its key values as those of social justice, greater social and economic equality, the promotion of a critical democracy and a vision of a better, fairer world. The political culture, on which radical adult education lies, links the particular with the general, makes a structural critique of capitalism and aspires towards a holistic societal transformation (Kane, 2000:11). Further, Allman and Wallis (1995:18-19) distinguish as basic ingredients of radical adult education the ability for critical thinking, vision and realism. This vision requires a profound faith in human beings and their potential to develop the creative and critical activities necessary for humanising the world (Wallis and Allman, 1996:177-178).



The notions of vision and realism are often discussed in tandem in radical adult education theory. This is partly because radical adult education has been accused, at times justifiably, of lack of pragmatism (Evans, 1987:25).<sup>44</sup> Holst (2002:77-90) reviews different opinions among radical adult educators in relation to whether adult education can actually transform society. He argues that most supporters of this tradition agree that, no matter how emancipatory in process and content adult education may be, it cannot on its own lead to social change. Holst claims that the perception of adult education as bringing transformation in itself falls into the trap of idealism. Johnston (1999:179) attributes this idealism to radical education's modernist tendency towards high-flown statements of moral purpose, pious expressions of hope and grand visions of an alternative, fairer society where adult education plays a central role. He recognizes that this rhetoric contributes towards the development of social purpose, but notices the danger of establishing what postmodernists would refer to as 'teleological and totalising' 'regimes of truth'.<sup>45</sup>

Barr (1999:80) argues that she has progressed from a belief in the potentially transformative power of adult education, to a more modest objective of enabling the articulation of views from below. The reason behind this objective is, not because these views offer more accurate accounts of the world, but because they increase the possibilities of knowledge,<sup>46</sup> and especially knowledge which is useful to those who generate it. This knowledge is what is defined as 'really useful knowledge', and it is required to understand the world in one's own terms and to recognise the potential to transform it collectively (Martin, 1999a:96). The purpose of really useful knowledge is to make people free (Johnson, 1988) through revealing the causes of hardship and oppression, and through considering the remedies to that (Thompson, 1997:130-131). It thus refers to the practicality of learning how to change one's life. Hence, as we have also seen from Freire, traditional notions of value-free, non-utilitarian knowledge are rejected from radical adult education's epistemology, which is directed instead

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<sup>44</sup> This criticism is taken into consideration only when pragmatism refers to realism. However, the term can also be used to denote a dispassionate self-limiting approach that accommodates its aims on the basis of easily obtainable goals, which is conflicting to radical adult education principles.

<sup>45</sup> Several authors though (e.g. Steele, 1995, Wallis & Allman, 1995; Martin, 2000:13-14) warn against the risks of losing direction and purpose in adult education as a result of the influence of postmodern ideas. Indeed, although postmodernism has justly criticised the rigidities of modernism, the prevailing postmodern notions of relativism and counter-Enlightenment nihilism threaten the conception of the individual as a social actor and deny human potentiality.

<sup>46</sup> This view reflects the perception of democratic citizenship as a process which has to be constantly made and re-made, and which entails education (Castoriadis, 1990:116-119; Rasmussen, 2004:159-160; Martin, 1999a:90).



towards the construction of a knowledge that engages directly with people's lived experience (Johnson, 1988; Thompson, 1997:130-131).

As the relationship between knowledge and power is underlined in any consideration of citizenship, really useful knowledge also links radical adult education to citizenship issues (Westwood, 1991). Radical adult education, understood as the education of citizens, undertakes the role of mediator between people's membership in civil society and their involvement in the politics of the state (Martin, 2000:12) Postmodernists and feminists have criticised radical adult education in that, with its emphasis on class issues, it has ignored the historical fragmentation of the working class on the levels of skills, gender, ethnicity, region and culture. This criticism has been accepted by radical adult educators (Westwood, 1992:234-235), and contemporary proponents of this tradition have broadened their scope by taking these issues into consideration (Coare & Johnston, 2003; Pillinger, 2000:21-22).

However, radical adult education, did not require postmodernists' criticisms in order to take difference into consideration. Freire is quoted in Martin (1999b:21) arguing that 'I don't believe in unanimity. Democracy is the confrontation with differences and the necessity to overcome antagonisms ... It is our task to look for justice, not to collapse us all into one ... [but to discover] how it is possible for us to grow together in the differences: to get unity in diversity'. This treatment of difference is both open to silenced voices, and at the same time it concentrates on common purpose – rather than on the superficial celebration of differences.<sup>47</sup> Besides, in trying to make adult education receptive to community voices, Johnston (1999; 2003) identifies four dimensions of social citizenship that radical adult educators should seek to endorse. These dimensions consist of inclusive, pluralistic, reflexive and active citizenship.<sup>48</sup>

Lastly, solidarity and the building of alliances become important elements of radical adult education, which are worked on through relating learning to collective engagement, drawing the curriculum from concrete experience and conceiving students as social agents (Thompson, Shaw & Bane, 2000). Therefore, with an explicitly political approach, radical adult education holds a dialectical and organic relation with social movements, which constitute 'epistemological communities'

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<sup>47</sup> Critically, Wood (in Holst, 2002:52) exclaims, 'how could one think of celebrating ... class differences'.

<sup>48</sup> As we saw in Chapter 2.1.



(Martin, 1999a:12; Martin, 1999b) and whose work is also directed towards cultural transformation (Dekeyser, 2001:41-42).<sup>49</sup>

### **2.3.3.2 Practical Implications**

The principles and values of radical adult education also influence the practical pedagogical aspects of curriculum, methodology and educator's role. The purpose of the radical adult education curriculum is to unveil the oppressive nature of our current circumstances, analyse what is happening and why it is happening. A historical and political economic understanding of these circumstances is an equally vital part of the curriculum (Allman & Wallis, 1995:18). This really useful knowledge is required to understand the world in one's own terms and to recognise the potential power to collectively change it. The concept of the neutrality of knowledge is rejected and it is recognized that what is learnt itself carries a dimension of power. As a result, control over curriculum content is of central concern and education emerges from the learners' concrete life experiences (Wallis & Allman, 1996:167). Knowledge is constructed by the learners, rather than transmitted to them (Martin, 1999a:96), and therefore, established knowledge, learners' experiences and their praxis all become part of the radical curriculum as topics to be critically thought upon (Freire, 1996:36,76-77).

If it is for the present, existential and concrete situation of the students to be the starting point for organising the curriculum, people's preoccupations, doubts, hopes and fears must become its centre. Freire (ibid) describes how each era is characterised by certain ideas, concepts, hopes and challenges, which are in a dialectical interaction with their opposites. All these characteristics are not objective realities, but exist within people and their relationships, shaping people's worldviews. These ideas, hopes and concepts are historically situated and interdependent, constituting the 'generative themes' of each era. Therefore, as in radical adult education the programme content is constituted by the students' view of the world, their generative themes become its foundation. Generative themes can enable learners to read the world critically, understand what is happening, why it is happening and what would be required in

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<sup>49</sup> The cultural change that movements are engaging with takes place on the levels of ideology, behaviour and material creation. The ideological aspect cultivates an involvement with values, the behavioural is expressed in attitudes, and the creation of cultural goods enables people to express the ideological and behavioural culture (Dekeyser, 2001:41-42).

order to change it. Consequently, by investigating the themes the students identify as important to them, the class can become 'a common striving towards awareness of reality and towards self-awareness' (ibid:88).

As radical adult education studies the living conditions of learners and the structure and problems of communities, it chooses methodology accordingly. New alternative methods of teaching and learning are developed with the co-operation or after securing the understanding of the learners (Castles & Wüstenberg, 1979:191-194). As already discussed, the aims and methods of radical adult education are interconnected. Learning is not confined to the classroom, and a vital part of methodology is critical questioning. Critical discussion/dialogue and reflection, problem posing and de-coding constitute some of the main methods used in radical adult education. Other methods can also be used as long as they entail the essential element of involving both action and reflection or, in other words, praxis (Freire, 1996:47-48,66).

Dialogue, central to radical problem-posing education, is the encounter between people that aim to name the world. It is through dialogue that we share what we know, ask ourselves and others why we think as we do, inquire where our thinking has derived from – both on a personal and a social history level – and reflect on whose interests it serves. True dialogue requires profound love for the world and for people, faith in humankind for becoming more fully human, and recognition of other human beings. Moreover, true dialogue cannot exist without hope or without the critical thinking of reality as a process. At the same time, dialogue develops trust amongst its interlocutors and it is this trust that proves that the dialogue has been a true one (ibid:68-74). The qualities of dialogue, as discussed above, indicate the importance of equal contribution from all participants. Problems and course for action are collectively discussed since '[i]f people are to be "subjects" of change, it is important they learn to act independently of "teachers" or "experts"' (Kane, 2001:17). Dialogue, though, should not be confused with informality or lack of structure. On the contrary, it involves a structured conversation where the generative themes of the students are identified and explored (Galloway, 1999:235).

Apart from the particular conceptualisation of dialogue, radical adult education has devised another distinct method, that of codification/decodification. This Freirian method, based on praxis, is a process through which learners are encouraged to re-experience and contemplate their daily life via a process of critical distancing (Allman *et al*, 1998:12). Each existential situation is represented in a codification, which shows some of the situation's constituent elements in interaction. The codification involves



pulling together apparently dis-joined generative themes in the representation of existential situations. The decoding requires moving dialectically from the abstract to the concrete, understanding the implicit themes of the codification, and gaining a critical and holistic understanding of reality (Freire, 1996:86-87).

Radical adult education posits limited weight on evaluation, where its purpose is restricted to informing students and tutors on their progress. This evaluation takes place through visible personal and/or social transformation (Schugurensky, 2002), emphasising assessment by self and peers on what has been learnt, the distance travelled, rather than on what is known. This type of evaluation encourages the learner to concentrate upon the extent to which they have achieved their own aspirations of the learning experience and whether they have learnt what they wished to learn (Jarvis, 1985:117,129).

For radical adult education, the hierarchical student-teacher relationship of other pedagogical models seems like a contradiction for several reasons. First, radical adult education recognizes that adult learners always bring something into the educational experience (Martin, 1999a:96) and, as such, the relationship between educator and learner is an equal one where learning is reciprocal. Moreover, both educator and learner in radical adult education have common aims. Lastly, and most importantly, authentic thinking – that is thinking which is concerned about reality – only takes place in communication (Freire, 1996:73-74). The above require that the educator has to be an equal interlocutor in a dialogue with their learners. In this way, students and educator enter the educational experience as two partners who adopt a position of mutual trust, but who nonetheless have a different role (Galloway, 1999:234-235).

Dialogical teaching, although challenging hierarchies, does not attempt to negate the unequal distribution of power inherent in the teacher-student relationship. It does though make it explicit (ibid). Shor and Freire (1987:90-95) argue that educators, due to their extended knowledge on the subject matter – but also as a result of their structural role within hierarchical institutions – have to assume their authority in order to destroy it. This does not imply that the educator should be authoritative. Rather, it means that only through revealing the power relations within the classroom would the challenging of these structures be possible. This is the case as challenge cannot derive exclusively from the educator, but has to be a collectively committed effort of all participants. Despite the power-relation embedded in the teacher-student relationship, if the educator is democratic, the different role between students and educator should not become antagonistic (ibid). Furthermore, if one understands

teaching as the educator's act of knowing, the student becomes its witness, and no longer acts merely as a learner (Torres & Freire, 1993:103).

Significantly, Kane (2001:17) makes the distinction between a radical adult educator and a facilitator, as a result of the former's interventionist role. Although without a set agenda to be transmitted to the students, radical adult educators have an *a priori* political commitment<sup>50</sup> and they bear responsibility for the educational outcomes. Moreover, as participants in collective process, radical adult educators are expected to contribute their thoughts on the issues under discussion. The same position is supported by Collins (1995:95) who argues against the lack of moral force and sense of engagement implicit in the term 'facilitator'.<sup>51</sup> Still, it has to be reiterated that all the above require an adult educator whose critical thought is related to a subjective desire to create a more just world and who understands and values the learners' language (Allman & Wallis, 1995:18-19).

The task of radical adult education is not easily achieved. Lovett (1988:301) recognises that collective efforts at adult education provision often result in programmes that, rather than aiming towards collective objectives, are concerned with individual development and advancement. This development, Lovett claims, although possibly producing a pedagogical comfort zone, does little beyond making the oppressed feel good about their own sense of victimisation. Similarly, Macedo (1993:xv) claims that the dialectical method of radical adult education is often removed from its wider theoretical framework and used as a process of sharing experiences and reduced to a form of group therapy that focuses on the psychology of the individual.

Archer and Costello (1990:200-201) draw attention to the possible misconceptions of the relationship between theory and techniques. They criticise the fact that some organisations detach conscientization from the techniques put forward by Freire, reducing the concept to the imparting of a political perspective.<sup>52</sup> They further argue that this de-reading helps to explain why radical adult education methods have been

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<sup>50</sup> Welton (1995:155) identifies as the radical educator's mandate the initiation of learning processes that assist new social actors' inclusion in the political arena, that broaden the political discourse in order to accommodate new identities and interpretations, and that democratise existing political institutions.

<sup>51</sup> Collins (1995:95) quotes Horton asserting that "There's no such thing as just being a coordinator or facilitator, as if you don't know anything. What the hell are you around for, if you don't know anything. Just get out of the way and let somebody have the space that knows something, believes something'.

<sup>52</sup> Freire himself highlighted the importance of dialogue as a means of avoiding the imposition of ideas (1996:49).



used by organisations that are not interested in people's liberation. To the contrary, though, Freire's theory is a critique of epistemology and not a methodology. Accordingly, radical adult education techniques are meant to be used to evoke the critical reflection of both the teacher and the students as critical co-investigators in a dialogue, and not to be used as mere de-contextualised methods.

Moreover, educators need to make choices that will determine whether adult education will be a vehicle for social change or will be reduced to second chance/liberal education (Lovett, 1988:301). Further, educators will need to choose the context within which they try to work; whether that will be in an independently funded context where they can create a genuine alternative radical model of adult education, or in existing educational institutions that they attempt to change (Lovett, 1988:300-301). Nonetheless, radical adult education, 'with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility where we can collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries' (bell hooks in Barr, 1999:80). Radical adult education constitutes, thus, a 'journey of hope', which although not an easy one, can offer the valuable belief in realistic societal alternatives (Williams, 1983b:267-269).

### **2.3.3.3 The Radical Approach's Response to Citizenship**

Reflecting on the above, one can see that the radical perspective is congruent with our framework for endorsing citizenship and social involvement. In trying to identify students' interests, to challenge hegemonic ideas and to search for really useful knowledge, it encourages the development of critical thinking. Problem posing activities and de/codifications are methodological means to this end. Genuine dialogue further contributes to students becoming informed as through this process they learn to listen and they explore different social ideas, realities and values. The practice of dialogue also supports learning to work together. It challenges people to work democratically, to deal with difference and conflict and to learn collaboratively. Furthermore, democratic principles are endorsed through the non-hierarchical relationship between educator and students.

Exploring knowledge for collective use and acknowledging that education is not neutral plays a part in learning to work together. Moreover, it fosters common purpose, collective identities and solidarity, and endorses responsibility for social issues. Through teaching how to influence and through working with social movements, the radical approach encourages students to get a voice. This could not be

successful unless radical adult education classes have faith in human beings and perceive students as social actors. This perception of students is imperative for nurturing a sense of agency. Finally, the bottom-up approach to knowledge generation enhances the chances for students to formulate arguments and to build the necessary confidence to defend them. We therefore see that the radical approach to adult education is the most appropriate one for promoting socio-political involvement. In the next section, we will concentrate on how each of these educational traditions is responding to migrants' citizenship in particular.



## 2.4 Adult Education for Migrants' Citizenship

The above typology, apart from providing a framework for the main adult education traditions, indicates the diverse conceptions of citizenship encompassed within each school of educational thought. The ontology and epistemology fostered within each tradition present a different view of society and of the individual's role within it. Moreover, what is valued as knowledge, and perceptions on knowledge transmission and construction, are also important in defining the ideological parameters of citizenship. Thus, at this point it is important to relate the implications of each perspective for the citizenship of migrants in particular.

The functionalist view of adult education, as described above, believes in a two-tier society consisting of the core of fully integrated members and some peripheral partially integrated ones. The dominant culture and the established knowledge associated with it are transmitted by functionalist education unquestioningly as neutral and objective. This practice devalues other knowledges and cultures, such as those of migrants, which are presented as being irrelevant and conflicting with the organic unity of the established knowledge. In addition, their knowledge and cultures lack the necessary cultural capital for their social inclusion. Besides, as those most likely to be the recipients of the dominant culture are those who already acquire it as a result of birth and upbringing, the social exclusion of migrants tends to be reproduced through generations, further limiting the opportunities for migrants' involvement in the polity.

Additionally, given that according to functionalism it is perceived as acceptable that migrants can become members of the polity – although that is as peripheral members – only when the society's structural conditions require it, migrants are accepted on a predominantly economic basis. This perception is tied in with the conception of social problems as centred on issues of unemployment and limited employability, with little consideration of these problems' actual structural causes. This leads to the blaming of the migrants themselves – or other excluded groups in other cases – for their own exclusion, reflecting the adoption of an inclusion/exclusion perception that combines the moral underclass and social integrationist discourses.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> See Chapter One.

Finally, the ontology of functionalist adult education deprives individuals, whether that is migrants or members of the host community, of their agency. As individuals and collectivities are moulded through socialisation and formal education to fit into their role in the organically perceived society, they lose the ability for autonomous and critical thinking, the self-will to take initiatives and the prospect of independent action. It should not come as a surprise therefore, that functionalist adult education has little interest in engaging with migrants' active citizenship and social involvement and in particular with oppositional forms of it.

Contrary to functionalist adult education, liberal adult education places the individual at its core. At the historical time of liberal adult education's development in the nineteenth century, migration was not an issue. However, liberal adult education was open to other marginalized social members, such as working class men and also women, who until that point had been largely excluded from both education and politics. This, together with liberal education's focus on the individual, reveals an underlying principle that everyone has the right to education and that every educated person – regardless of their social background or gender – should undertake the task of social and political engagement.

The different individuals that come together in educational projects are expected to bring with them distinct knowledges and opinions. Although not always done in liberal educational practice, the plurality endorsed as a principle can provide a space for silenced worldviews, such as those of migrants', to be heard. However, the lack of links between liberal adult education and social movements means that these different voices remain within the classroom environment and have no direct social impact. Besides, the peaceful coexistence of the host and migrant communities as promoted by traditional liberal adult education, although a significant improvement for migrants' socio-political position and a certain shift towards a more pluralistic and inclusive society, maintains an uneven balance between the political and social impact of migrant and 'native' voices. The established ideas accommodate the existence of migrants, whilst they adapt into a relatively unchanged society.

The contemporary deontological trend in liberal adult education has shifted the discourse of citizenship, putting less emphasis on society. Instead, the purpose of positive societal environments – such as that of the classroom – becomes the growth of the individual. It could appear positive for migrants' education that this approach to adult education relates learning to the existential concerns of the students. If,



however, there is no sharing and discussion of diverse perceptions, pluralism becomes merely the coexistence of isolated individuals.

Lastly, due to the theory's origins in psychology, practitioners often use humanistic education as a form of group therapy, exploring migrants' vulnerability rather than their strengths, and therefore undermining their human agency. The expression of migrants' ideas and experiences thus serves a psychological, rather than a socio-political function. In this way, the plurality of worldviews, not only does it not directly challenge established sets of ideas, but it rather fulfils the role of 'repressive tolerance' (Marcuse, 1969). This repressive tolerance, although more humane than intolerance, does not really present any real alternatives.

Radical adult education, on the other hand, is inherently more inclusive and pluralistic as a result of its epistemology. The insistence that knowledge is not arbitrary, but is rather constructed by people, opens up the space for all voices to be heard. These voices are neither ignored nor celebrated. Rather they enter a dialogue that, through reflective action, can analyse the world and construct alternative perceptions. Although the focus of radical adult education has often been the working class, its pedagogy is directed towards the alleviation of all forms of oppression. In this way, radical adult education is the type of pedagogy which genuinely takes into consideration the social and political position of migrants, with the intention of fighting for their socio-cultural, political and structural inclusion.

The fact that the epistemology of radical adult education is based on people's experience, and on their reflection on it, indicates that migrants are considered to be self-determining agents who can jointly shape their social situation. Furthermore, the qualities of dialogue in radical adult education can bring together individuals from different communities, and create bonds of solidarity between them. In the case of migrants, these relationships can be created amongst individuals of separate migrant groups and with members of the host community. These relationships, however, do not need to rest only on interpersonal relations, but can also be formed on the community level.

Radical adult education's relationship to collective action fosters a link to social movements, which, as has been discussed, are conceived as epistemological communities and possible allies. This does not simply involve the building of alliances between educational groups and movements by and for migrants, but also the invitation and participation of these movements in radical adult education. In this

way, movements from different communities and of all settings can enter in dialogue and generate greater knowledge as a result of the larger number of experiences involved in its creation. In addition, the dialogue among different community groups and movements can inspire the principles and values of an alternative citizenship where all members, based on collective reflection and action, can equally contribute towards the shaping of society. Consequently, radical adult education is the pedagogy that seems to most effectively address issues of migrants' citizenship and social involvement.



# CHAPTER 3 – WHY THIS CASE STUDY?

Before moving to the actual case studies, some consideration of the choices about this thesis needs to be undertaken. Although some indications have already been given in the previous sections, this chapter aims to explain further the rationale behind the particular focus on migrants, second language adult education and migrants' social involvement. Moreover, it justifies the comparison between the Scottish and Greek practices of adult education for migrants.

## 3.1 Why Migrants?

There are several reasons why migrants were chosen to be the focus of this study. These reasons can be divided into negative and positive ones, consisting of negative conditions that need to be altered, but also of situations that can provide opportunities to constructively challenge contemporary societies. In recent times, the issue of migration has been elevated to one of the most topical ones, featuring at the top of the political agenda as well as public opinion and the media. This results partly from the fact that, following the breakdown of the post-war consensus and the end of the Cold War, politics based on ideology have been replaced by the politics of 'race' (Malik, 1996:7). Members of the host communities, owing to the current political vacuum, increasingly derive their identity from 'race' and ethnicity. Migration, although not the most important change in our era, has come to be perceived as such (ibid:30), leading to the reinforcement of the division between 'us' and 'them'.

Migrants, although residents of a state, are frequently refused membership of that society and are denied basic legal and political rights. Racism, which divides social groups into separate species – each having its own natural origin and set of discrete somatic and cultural characteristics – is associated with concepts of inferiority for certain groups and the belief that these groups induce negative consequences for any other group with whom social relations are established. This racialisation is not only a discourse, but has the intention, and usually the outcome, of denying the racialised collectivity of rights and resources, consequently leading to their material – in addition to their socio-political – marginalisation (Miles, 1992:96-97).

In Western states, the extension of political franchise that took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked the movement towards liberal democracy – a political system from which Western governments tend to derive a feeling of moral

authority. Nonetheless, as migrants constitute an increasingly large segment of society, their political exclusion indicates a significant democratic deficit. Moreover, to their social and economic exclusion resulting from racist discourses and practices, are added other discriminating factors, such as class and gender,<sup>54</sup> which further challenge the occidental self-perception as one permeated by equality.

The diversity produced by migration can go beyond the mere questioning of the West's self-image, challenging and proposing alternatives to the *status quo*. If migrants came to be seen as an equal and legitimate part of the community, the conception of western societies as monocultural<sup>55</sup> would be contested. This could lead, not merely to the recognition of plural ethnic cultures in the form of multiculturalism, but to the re-conceptualisation of culture as a non-static and porous phenomenon. Besides, as migrants come from different backgrounds they have been socialised within distinct ideological hegemonies and, therefore, are more able to question the host society's commonsensical ideas.

There is a significant literature on issues of migration, which focuses on models of inclusion (e.g. Castles, 2000; Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000; Baubock, 2001), racism (e.g. Miles, 1989, Solomos, 1993) and identity (e.g. Castles, & Davidson, 2000; Romanucci-Ross & DeVos, 1996; Konstantopoulou *et al*, 2000). There is however a gap in research about the ways in which migrants, as social actors, can get a voice and become socially involved so that they can challenge their host community's norms from a cultural, political and intellectual point of view. It is this gap that this study aims to fill, using the means of adult education.

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<sup>54</sup> Although ignored in research, a large percentage of migrants are women (Carmon, 1996:19-20).

<sup>55</sup> This is mostly the case in Greece, where the educational system and the Orthodox Church – an institution that is not legally separated from the state – put forward a monolingual, monoreligious and monocultural interpretation of society. As we have seen, though, from the recent debate on multiculturalism, similar perspectives are also found in the UK.



### ***3.1.1 The Globalisation Debate and Post-National Citizenship***

Literature focusing on migrants often ignores the changes that have occurred in the levels and processes of migration as a result of globalisation. The term 'globalisation' has been increasingly used since the 1970s, both in everyday life and literature, to refer to an acceleration of international integration based on rapid changes in political and economic relations, technology and communications (Castles, 2000:164). Three main characteristics of globalisation are specifically related to citizenship and therefore, to the socio-political inclusion of migrants. First, globalisation questions the notion of the relative autonomy of the nation-state, breaking the territorial principle, the nexus between power and place. Second, the ideology of distinct and relatively autonomous cultures, the foundation of nation-building and patriotism, is being undermined by the processes of globalisation. And finally, the most directly related aspect of globalisation to migrants' citizenship, is the international movement, which is not restricted to capital and products, but is also followed by the rapidly increasing mobility of people across national borders (Castles & Davidson, 2000:8-9).

The debate on globalisation has two extreme positions, between which lies a range of interpretations. The one position is the idea that the nation-state and the substance of citizenship are being reformed beyond recognition by the inexorable forces of globalisation, whether this is considered to lead to an enhanced world or to a world of degraded quality. On the other hand, according to the opposite position, the nation-state remains powerful and the sole political unit capable of maintaining democratic citizenship, whilst states' inter-connectedness is merely a continuation of former trends (ibid:viii). These two positions have also been termed as the 'strong' and 'weak' versions of globalisation, the first present in more liberal and pluralist discourses and the latter in more classical historical Marxist or conservative ones (Holst, 2002:52-53).<sup>56</sup>

Few people argue that the strong version of globalisation could ever become a reality (e.g. Du Bof & Herman, 1997). This is because, to a greater or lesser extent, the role of the nation-state in the world scene is not expected to disappear for the foreseeable future. Equally, not many authors support the weak version of globalisation. A notable exception is that of Hirst and Thompson (2002) who argue that, on the basis of

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<sup>56</sup> Giddens (2002:7-9) prefers terming these positions on globalisation as 'radical' and 'sceptical', whilst others (e.g. Servaes & Lie, 2001) divide the perspectives into that of 'globalists', 'traditionalists' and 'transformationalists' – the last taking a position midway between the other two.

statistical trends in migration, trade and capital flows, our present globalised world is less international than it had been in the decades before the First World War (ibid:248). However, they disregard the fact that changes in transport and telecommunications' technology also become the root for transformations in the social sphere, affecting the actual *form* of contemporary migration (Castles & Davidson, 2000:8-9).

Bauböck (2001:35), like Castells (1998:323) and Dobe (2000:1), asserts that migration theories that build on economic incentives and social network effects generally predict much more international migration than we actually observe. His argument is that we have to 'bring the state back in' to explain why so few potential migrations lead to actual flows, and why these flows are highly selective. Bauböck rejects the idea of portraying migrants as heralds of the end of the nation-state, and instead claims that one should rather think how to transform nation-states so that increasingly mobile populations can still share in political authority, a bounded territory and a common historical horizon. This perspective of integration is 'trans-national' rather than 'post-national' and thereby does not envisage the dissolution of nation-states, but claims instead that societies and cultures increasingly overlap both in space and time. However, Bauböck's realisation that the increasing diversity of origins in contemporary migrations has also challenged and transformed perceptions of national identity at the receiving end seems to conflict with his insistence on the preservation of the *nation*-state rather than, as Carens (1995) argues, the maintenance of a non-national state institution.

Habermas (1999) too directs us towards this post-national state. On the globalisation continuum, Habermas seems to hold a position closer to the centre. The rapid changes in society and culture are interrupting the fundamental conditions of existence of the European nation-state system, which was erected on a territorial basis beginning in the eighteenth century and still positions the most important collective actor on the political stage. Habermas argues that, in the era of migration, national bonds and attachments should be replaced by 'constitutional patriotism'. What he envisages is, thus, a democratic society in which residents of different backgrounds and cultures participate actively and effectively in decision-making (Habermas, 2001).

Apart from the above theoretical re-conceptualisation of the state, there is also a new attitude among migrants. Taylor (2000) argues that the earlier sense of mere gratitude towards the countries of refuge and opportunity has been replaced by a belief that the earth has been given to the human species in common. A given space does not just



belong to the people born in it, it is not simply theirs to give. Therefore, migrants are not morally bound to accept just *any* condition imposed on them in return for entry.<sup>57</sup> Soysal (1999) illustrates the importance of the above by demonstrating how migrant organisations justify their demands based, not on religion or tradition, but through a language of human rights as residents of a state. The demands are not for them to belong to the national collectivity of the host community, but to have their human rights respected.<sup>58</sup> In this way, migrants are not withdrawing from the collective sphere, but demonstrate that the collective is no longer bounded by a preordained national community. Indeed, through these claims, they attempt to redefine the very nature of community.

As a result of the above, the perception of a homogeneous culture has been challenged. Migrants increasingly see the culture that they are joining as something in continual evolution, and which they have a right to co-determine. At the same time, we witness an intensification of a long-established phenomenon, which is increasingly accepted as 'normal'. This phenomenon is that certain migrant groups function morally, culturally and politically as a 'diaspora', whilst aspiring to full membership in the receiving society. This condemned 'double allegiance' of the past is now increasingly coming to be seen as normal (Taylor, 2000:98-99). Similarly, Gilroy (1993:126-127) expands on the idea of 'double consciousness',<sup>59</sup> challenging the claim that identities are mutually exclusive. Isin and Wood (1999:23-120-121), however, make an interesting distinction between diasporic and cosmopolitan citizenship, the first referring to group struggles for ethnic recognition and redistribution, and the latter putting its emphasis on identities and citizenship struggles that are formed *across* territorial national borders. This latter identity is important to this study, as its development is vital for the emergence of the post-national state discussed above.

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<sup>57</sup> This is illustrated in popular culture. For example, Arban Perlala, an Albanian musician in Greece, asserts that 'no life is clandestine. Because you are illegal, it doesn't mean that you have no right to speak out' (ERT World, 2006).

<sup>58</sup> Such an example is Muslim pupils' recourse to British and French courts for not being allowed to dress as they wish in schools on the basis that their human rights are not being respected.

<sup>59</sup> Originally an idea of Du Bois (Gilroy, 1993:126-127).

### 3.1.2 The Concept of Cosmopolitanisation

Within the broader concept of cosmopolitan citizenship, Beck (2002) draws on the notion of cosmopolitanisation that can be useful in exploring migrants' citizenship in contemporary societies. With regard to the issues of multiple identities and citizenships, Beck argues that at the beginning of the twenty-first century the *conditio humana* cannot be understood nationally or locally, but only globally. This is because, apart from interconnections across boundaries, the process of globalisation also transforms the quality of the social and the political within states. This internal globalisation, which affects everyday consciousness and identities, he defines as 'cosmopolitanisation'.

The concept of cosmopolitanisation brings the process of globalisation closer to the individual and civil society. Globalisation is not only about 'real' phenomena, but also a way of interpreting the world (Mittelman, 2002:10). Accordingly, cosmopolitanisation refers to the clash of cultures and rationalities *within* one's own life – the 'internalized Other' (Beck, 2002:18). Rival ways of life coexist in the individual experience, which makes it a matter of fate to compare, reflect, criticise, understand and combine contradictory certainties. Contrary to the national perspective which is a monologic imagination excluding the otherness of the Other, the cosmopolitanisation perspective is an imagination of alternative ways of life and rationalities (ibid).

Contemporary migration is a sign that identities are no longer predetermined. They can be chosen, interpreted, but simultaneously have to be redrawn and legitimated anew. Inner globalisation, understood as the pluralisation of borders, produces a legitimisation crisis of the national morality of exclusion. In other words, with globalisation there has been brought a new era of modernisation, which challenges the Janus-faced inclusivity of the nation-state based model of liberal democracy. Therefore, cosmopolitanisation in the form of reflexive globalisation, as Beck argues (2003), instead of being seen as a danger, should be seen as a dynamic force for society, a drive towards a globally shared future which challenges the moral certainties that have been excluding groups on the basis of an imagined past. As such, the contention is that globalisation is, not only about 'real' phenomena, but a different way of interpreting the world.

The wider concept of cosmopolitanism that Beck refers to originates from the Stoics and later Kant, and implies a liberal moral position in relation to individual autonomy.



It is linked to humanitarianism in that it suggests an active concern for others in need or distress, without though depriving of their dignity those to whom aid is offered. Cosmopolitanism is even more closely linked to a belief in basic human rights and at the same time suggests awareness of cultural diversity, respect for other cultures and a desire for peaceful coexistence (Carter, 2001:2).

Communitarians have attacked cosmopolitanism, challenging individual autonomy and criticising the extent of allegiance one can assert without the bonds of a community and shared culture (e.g. Walzer, 1995). As will be discussed further though, the nation-state is an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991:5-7), a 'fictive ethnicity' (Balibar, 1997:96-100) based on notional rather than real ties, just like the cosmopolitanists' imagined community of humankind. Yet, the allegiance of the national community's members is not disputed by communitarians.

A more serious accusation is the postmodernist allegation that the universalism implied in cosmopolitanism conceals Western cultural imperialism. Foucault's (1991:43-45) idea of political violence exercised by supposedly neutral institutions is implied in the argument that universalism's blindness to group differences masks the imposition of the dominant culture (Sandel, 1996). Moreover, Young (1995) makes a distinction between universalist ideas and the belief in inclusion for all. She maintains that for the latter to materialise, disadvantaged minoritised populations should be allocated group rights through which they will be able to voice their interests and interpretations of reality. Although it is indeed necessary for all inhabitants of a polity to be heard, Young's argument has essentialist tendencies whilst ignoring the structural and economic aspects of inclusion.

Contrary to these critiques, in creating a vision for a collective future, Beck appeals to a 'higher amorality' (2002:36), which even though it espouses a 'dialogue of civilisations' (Modood, 2006:27), it relativises cultures as well as ideas and values. This relativity can be detrimental to the promotion of values and as such to struggles for improved social conditions. Still, it views migrants as challengers of frontiers, which has implications both for the citizenship of migrants and of the host community.

Hall (1992:309) similarly contends that the cultural and political implications of globalisation are the pluralisation of until recently 'closed' identities of national culture, and the producing of a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification. The significance of Hall's case is that, rather than endorsing relativity, it

puts forward a flexibility that makes identities more positional, and as such, more political. The individual is therefore for Hall a conscious actor and not merely a victim of social construction. This is a vital cognitive prerequisite if it is for migrants, as well as for members of the host community, to be seen as subjects of social research, which is what this thesis aims.

Drawing from the above, this study perceives the challenges of migration in a globalised era as possible tools for creating what Castells (1997:8,10-12) terms a 'project identity'. This is a future-oriented identity (Romanucci-Ross & De Vos, 1996:18), produced when social actors, based on the cultural materials available to them, redefine their social position, aspiring to the transformation of the established social structure. The development of this project therefore depends on the willingness to highlight commonalities – rather than differences – and the deliberative and practical political involvement of all members of the polity – whether 'natives' or migrants – based on a reconciliation between individual and collective identity.



## 3.2 Why Second Language Adult Education?

There are several reasons for the study's concentration on second language classes. First, the legal and financial conditions of most migrants erect significant structural barriers for their engagement in adult education. However, a significant number of them participate in specially provided second language classes. These classes tend to have multiple functions. Evidently, they are a major space for migrants' contact with others, whether that is people from their own and other migrant communities or members of the host community. Indeed, for many migrants, language tutors are the first members of the host population with whom they establish some form of convivial dialogue. In addition, second language classes can provide a gateway to events and other volunteer or statutory organizations that the students might become interested in.

Another important aspect of second language education is that it 'has the experience of otherness at the centre of its concern, as it requires learners to engage with both familiar and unfamiliar experience through the medium of another language' (Byram, 1997:3). The second language is not just a skill, but it is the means through which people interact mentally with the world (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004:2-3). As the tendency to conceptualise language in the form of cognitive phenomena is becoming replaced by sociolinguistics-oriented approaches (Block, 2003:4; Ellis, 1987:3), there is a change of focus from 'competence' to 'performance' and an increasing interest in society and culture as part of language learning (Corbett, 2003:11).

However, established communicative approaches to language teaching – although concerned with socio-cultural issues – conceptualise the ideal communicative and cultural competence as that of the native speakers', thus urging learners to mimic the linguistic and cultural behaviour of the host community (e.g. Nunan, 1989). In contradistinction, the intercultural approach to language learning allows learners to perceive themselves, not as imitators of the native speakers, but as social actors engaging in a particular kind of interaction with other social actors. The very position of migrants is regarded by the proponents of the intercultural perspective as a vantage point from which the learner can reflect, question and mediate between the home culture and the target culture and society (Byram, 1997:21; Corbett, 2003:31). In this way, second language education can bring to light diverse possibilities of making sense of human life and relationships (Byram, 1997:115).

The value of intercultural language education lies in the fact that, aware of the cultural variation within a host community as well as of the danger of the dominant culture being transmitted as a static set of values and customs, it does not aspire to introduce migrants to a particular 'culture' but to equip them with the means of comprehending and evaluating socio-cultural practices and meanings (Byram, 1997:17-19; Neuner, 1997:52). One can therefore identify common elements between intercultural language education and this study's adult education framework for active citizenship, such as interest in knowledge about – and understanding of – other countries' cultural and social aspects, critical reflection and evaluation of one's own and other societies' socio-political norms, and nurturing of a disposition for engagement and interaction with individuals from a wide range of backgrounds (Byram, 1997:43-44). In this way, second language classrooms can move beyond the mere 'reading of the word', providing migrant students with opportunities and skills for a simultaneous 'reading of the world' (Freire, 2003:356).



### 3.3 The Importance of Migrants' Social Involvement

When migrants settle in a new society, they begin to participate in a variety of host institutions, such as schools, health care or sports clubs. In addition, they may also establish new institutions that did not exist previously, such as cultural or religious associations, schools of mother tongue teaching and migrant/refugee organisations (Entzinger, 1999:12). As raised before, migrants tend to enter the debate as objects, passive recipients of discriminatory policy and attitudes, rather than as subjects (Bauman, 2002:343). Due to their lack of legal rights, migrants are assumed to be politically passive. It is useful, though, to distinguish between rights and socio-political involvement. In most cases, the former are a condition for the latter. But socio-political involvement can also occur without full political rights (Entzinger, 1999:12). This does not imply that rights should not exist, but that social involvement can be influential and important even in situations where there are no such rights.

Lack of legal rights has not prevented the development of other forms of socio-political involvement.<sup>60</sup> However, literature tends to concentrate on the rights or lack of rights offered to migrants by the host community (Soysal, 1994; Murray & Niessen, 1993; Theodoropoulos & Sykiotou, 1994), whilst largely ignoring migrants' extra-electoral socio-political engagement. This oversight, though, undermines migrants' social role and contribution. The focus of this study on less institutionalised participatory practices thus, does not deny that the choices migrants can make are limited, but attempts to highlight that community members are legitimate actors who have both the right and the ability to shape their socio-political environment. Furthermore, apart from the fact that social involvement does not require possession of legal rights, focus on participation in the form of active citizenship – whether conventional or interventionist – offers a dialectical view of society in which change can occur through the input of social groups otherwise excluded from formal decision-making.

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<sup>60</sup> Including movements for the gaining of legal rights in the first place.

## 3.4 Comparing Scottish and Greek Adult Education for Migrants

As part of the study is the aim to explore how educational and socio-political traditions impact on the social outcomes of adult education, it is important to use examples of diverse settings. At the same time, for such a study to be effective, comparison should be made between socially comparable countries. The following part of this chapter, justifies the decision of comparing Greece and Scotland.

Despite the different history of Scotland and Greece in relation to migration, with Scotland in the twentieth century having been a receiving country<sup>61</sup> and Greece having been a country of significant emigration, both countries have recently faced – and found themselves unprepared for – a rapid demographic change. It was after the collapse of the communist bloc that Greece for the first time had visible migration.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, although Scotland has had a minoritised ethnic population since the beginning of the twentieth century (Scottish Executive, n.d.a), it was after the introduction of the dispersal programme of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act (House of Commons, 1999) that considerable numbers of new, more noticeable, groups arrived (SRC, 2001).

It could be argued that it is impracticable to compare Scottish and Greek migrants' adult education as a catalyst for social involvement because immigration policies are set on a state level. Indeed, even though post-devolution Scotland has gained some decision-making powers, most issues relating to in-migration are still reserved matters under the control of the Home Office in London. Nonetheless, through the Fresh Talent Initiative (Scottish Executive, 2004), Scotland has attempted to introduce its own process for economic migrants' – although not for refugees' – admission. Furthermore, Scotland has its own body for the management of integration (SRIF, 2005), whilst the Home Office's integration strategy applies only to England (Home Office, 2005a:14). Hence, although the Scottish Executive's Fresh Talent and integration strategies are decided in consultation with the Home Office, they are independent and a response to local issues, which justifies the study of Scotland separately from the situation in the rest of the UK.

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<sup>61</sup> Although further in the past it was an emigrating country too.

<sup>62</sup> This excludes previous in-migration of ethnic Greeks.



On the European level, the Treaty of Amsterdam established EU competence in the areas of migration and asylum (European Union, 1997:28-29, 103-104). As co-operation on immigration policy cannot be achieved without the convergence of integration policy, the 1999 European Council in Tampere saw an effort to develop a comprehensive strategy addressing integration (European Council, 1999: 4-6; Spencer, 2003). Since then, more steps have been taken, culminating to the formulation of a common policy plan on legal migration (European Commission, 2005). In addition to elevating the issue of migrants' integration to a supranational level, the Treaty of Amsterdam introduced the concept of subsidiarity – a principle intended to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen, that is at as local a level as appropriate (European Union, 1997:105-107) – thus favouring decision-making at sub-state levels such as Scotland. This increased participation of the EU on issues of migration and integration leads to the creation of a common legal framework for both Greece and the UK, whilst subsidiarity makes Scotland an equally independent actor to be studied comparatively to another European state.

Whilst formal policy might affect the integration and social engagement of migrants, it is not the sole factor in determining their socio-political involvement. The attitudes and actions of a wide range of groups and individuals, both in the host community as well as amongst migrants, have at least as important an impact as policy. Thus, even though adult education for migrants is seriously influenced by immigration and integration policy, it is at the very level of attitudes and actions that adult education can become a catalyst for active citizenship. The Greek and Scottish attitudes in relation to migrants' social integration and involvement, share some distinctive traits. By and large, the change in migration patterns has challenged the self-definition of both the Scottish and Greek host communities, which have traditionally seen themselves as rather homogeneous.<sup>63</sup> After being faced with rapid demographic changes, existing self-perceptions are being threatened and nationalism has been on the increase.<sup>64</sup> The majority of the population in both countries considers, however, their societies as non-racist and welcoming to strangers. At the same time, there is a significant dissident minority in both societies that challenges mainstream perceptions and encourages migrants' socio-political inclusion.

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<sup>63</sup> Although South of the border the recognition of multiple communities has taken place for several decades, Scotland denied dealing with the 'race' issue until the 1990s (Miles & Dunlop, 1987).

<sup>64</sup> This can be seen by the increased popularity of the extreme-right wing party LAOS in Greece (Kosvanis, & Kritikou, 2006) and the increase in racist incidents in Scotland (CRE, 2005a).

The above make Scotland and Greece comparable in their reception of migrants. However, what actually makes the comparison interesting, is the *differences* between these two countries. As we will see in Chapter Four, Scotland and Greece have distinct political cultures with the first having a strong communitarian tradition whilst in the latter involvement takes an oppositional and less institutionalised form. Soysal's (1999) research has shown that migrants' socio-political engagement is strongly affected by the participatory mechanisms and resources that the host communities themselves afford. As a result, same origin migrants participate in different host communities in diverse manners, relative to the country in which they have settled. It is therefore expected that the Scottish and Greek patterns of socio-political involvement will have a strong impact on this study.

In relation to adult education, neither Scotland nor Greece were prepared for meeting the needs that arose during the first stages of the new inward migration. Although the number of classes for migrants – particularly second language classes – has increased substantially, there is still a significant shortage not only in provision but also in experienced staff. Moreover, from a theoretical point of view, in both countries the discourse of lifelong learning has come to dominate the adult education agendas. There is, however, a distinctive difference between the adult education traditions of the two countries. Whereas Scotland has historically had a tradition of liberal and, to a smaller degree, radical adult education (Alexander, 1994: section 2; Duncan, 2003), adult education provision and thought in Greece has, not only been limited, but also traditionally dominated by conservative institutions. As a result, it has generally been restricted to basic and vocational adult education (Prokou, 2003; Karalis & Vergidis, 2004). As the purpose of the study focuses on the ways in which adult education can promote social involvement, a comparison between Greece and Scotland, with their diverse adult education traditions, provides an innovative methodology that can make a contribution to this under-researched topic.

Finally, the majority of literature relating to migrants' integration and citizenship focuses on states of significant political standing, such as the UK or France, that have a history of established minoritised ethnic populations. In particular, most British commentators on 'race' and multiculturalism find it difficult to believe that multi-ethnic Britain – and especially England, on which literature concentrates – has much to learn from continental Europe. Policy-makers and academics in the UK thus work within a framework of ideas and concepts that is becoming increasingly unresponsive to the challenge of new migrations, such as asylum-seekers and new economic migrants (Favell, 2001:35-41). Furthermore, although in recent years there has been



some interest in refugees and their education in a Scottish context (e.g. Barclay *et al*, 2003; Charlaff *et al*, 2004), there is no research examining active citizenship issues of minoritised populations – whether established or recently arrived groups – and hardly any literature on other (non-refugee) migrant groups in Scotland. This study thus begins to fill a gap in our knowledge.

Equally, new migration European countries have a lot to learn from British literature and practice. In particular, the Greek literature and social research on the subject, in addition to lacking major theorists and being descriptive rather than analytic of the phenomenon, tends to accept mainstream commonsense ideas about the need for migrants to assimilate if they are to become socially included (e.g. Katsoulis, 2002; IPODE, 2001). Finally, the increasing literature on migrants' integration in Southern-European countries (e.g. Baldwin-Edwards & Arango, 1999; King & Black, 1997) tends to conduct comparative research among the different Southern states and has not studied the phenomenon comparatively with a Northern European one. This comparison can therefore present different and valuable perspectives in relation to our topic.

# CHAPTER 4 – THE HOST COMMUNITY: SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING MIGRANTS’ SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

This chapter aims to offer contextual information on perceptions of national identity and political culture in Scotland and Greece. These, not only affect the integration<sup>65</sup> of migrants and, as a result, the opportunities for their socio-political involvement, but also impact on the educational processes of second language adult education and its social outcomes.

To assess the openness of a society to newcomers it is important to gauge the host community’s image of itself. This image encapsulates the characteristics considered to bind the individuals of a society into a community, and it therefore identifies the boundaries with those excluded from membership. For this reason, it is not the actual definition of Scottish or Greek identity<sup>66</sup> that is sought to be determined here but rather conventional perceptions of what makes someone Scottish or Greek. As McCrone (2001:3) argues, national identity cannot be treated as real or unreal, but as a mental space in which matters of base and superstructure come together. Claiming that nations, the focus of national identity, are figments of the imagination does not imply that they are insignificant, but that they have to be interpreted as changing ideas, as spaces of the mind. The same applies for national identity, which binds nations into imagined communities.

States focus either on the civic or the ethnic requirements for citizenship, the first approach defining belonging on the basis of participation through rights and obligations and the latter through particularistic identities (Soysal, 1996:17). In other words, civic citizenship is connected with the idea of assimilation, and ethnic

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<sup>65</sup> The concept of integration here is interpreted as ‘respectful treatment amongst members of different communities, consideration of group differences *and* similarities, and the gradual formation of a future-oriented socio-political identity in whose shaping residents – regardless of their background – are involved’. This definition hopes to overcome the overtly theoretical essence of most definitions of the term (e.g. Bauböck, 2001:35), recognises culture as multifarious and changeable, and views migrants as equal social actors rather than as vulnerable objects of racism (e.g. Kofman *et al*, 2000:95) or indebted individuals who have to assimilate into existing social structures (e.g. Polère, 2003:23).

<sup>66</sup> Such definitions would be an essentialist reduction of national identity to paradigmatic features, which ignore the actual pluralism and complexities of modern societies.



citizenship with the idea of preserved distinct communities. Membership of a nation-state, whether it depends on *ius sanguinis* or *ius soli*, creates a boundary, which includes a certain group of people and excludes others. At the same time, certain requirements are set for those who wish to cross this boundary and become members of the community. The following sections discuss the historical and political circumstances that have shaped the development of Scottish and Greek national identities and investigate their respective openness as perceived by the host community and as experienced by migrants. Moreover, we will explore issues of political culture since, as we saw in Chapter 3.4, the host community's patterns of social participation have a major impact on those of migrants' (Soysal, 1999).

## 4.1 Scottishness

The 2002 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Bond & Rosie, 2002: table 5) revealed that people in Scotland rank the importance of their identity as Scottish second only to being a parent and ahead of issues of class, employment or gender. Scottish national feeling has nowadays become passionate notwithstanding it is unfocused (Pittock, 2001:13). Scottishness has meant different things at different times. However, ‘what it means to be “Scottish” is far less important for the answers than for the terms in which the debate occurs’ (McCrone, 2001:3), as well as for the significance of its emotional appeal.

In relation to nationalism in Scotland, it is often emphasised that it belongs at the ‘civic’ rather than the ‘ethnic’ end of the spectrum. Partly because of Scotland’s limited cultural distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* England, it has been forced to develop a ‘political’ rather than ‘cultural’ sense of what it means to be Scottish. *Realpolitik* that goes back in history had to firmly embed Scottishness in a sense of place rather than a sense of tribe. If coherent government was to survive in the medieval and early modern past in a country that comprised Gaelic-speaking Highlanders and Scots-speaking Lowlanders, already linguistically and ethnically diverse, it had to appeal beyond ethnicity (ibid:155). As an effect, territorial inclusivity, rather than ethnic exclusivity is the main component of the Scottish national identity. There is no powerful set of religious and/or linguistic cultural markers that define what it means to be a Scot, which means that identity can be much more open and inclusive. In order to avoid favouring one region in relation to another, the patron saint adopted for Scotland was the foreign St. Andrews, a symbolic figure that nowadays is used to promote the idea of a multicultural Scotland.<sup>67</sup>

A question that naturally follows is that, if Scottishness is so civic and inclusive, whom does it encapsulate? In an large-scale opinion poll, to the question ‘who should qualify for a Scottish national in an independent Scotland’ 58 per cent responded that anyone born in Scotland should qualify, 39 per cent that everyone living in Scotland should, and 18 per cent that anyone with Scottish parents could be counted as Scottish (Brown *et al*, 1996:209). Similarly, another study found that, regarding the criteria entitling to a Scottish passport, 97 per cent of the respondents thought that being born and living in Scotland should entitle someone to a potential Scottish passport. The support for

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<sup>67</sup> The annual anti-racist march in Glasgow takes place on St. Andrew’s day (BBC,2005).



non-‘native’ residents having a Scottish passport was 52 per cent and 34 per cent for those with at least one parent born in Scotland (McCrone, 2001:172-173). Furthermore, research has shown that young people of Asian origin are likely to operate hybrid identities such as Scottish Muslim or Scottish Pakistani (Saeed *et al*, 1999:835-837). These findings demonstrate a rather remarkable openness to nationality and citizenship and support the idea that the character of Scottish national identity is based on its civil society.

Nonetheless, the simplistic division between civic and ethnic nationalisms is increasingly being challenged (Brown, 1999; Spencer & Wollman, 2002:94-118). Brown (1999:292) interestingly argues that ‘civic nations are communities of obligation which demand allegiance, and which must therefore resist voluntaristic renunciations by present members. The present generation can only be tied into the “voluntaristic” nation if the nation depicts itself as a community that stretches back and forward across generations’. In this process, even civic nationalisms embed their citizens within myths of historical continuity, which in the case of Scotland begins with the Celtic myth.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> The term ‘myth’ here refers, not to something that is untrue, but to a set of self-evident truths not amenable to proof. It is a set of symbolic elements, a narrative validating dominant ideas and social institutions. Thus, according to this myth, the historical foundation that binds Scottish people together is their Celtic origin, regardless of the fact that it was only after the second half of the nineteenth century that the Celtic myth and the separation between ‘Celtic’ and ‘Saxon’ took place (McCrone, 2001:135).

### **4.1.1 The Historical Formation of Scottish Identity and Political Culture**

The openness of a national identity is greatly influenced by the way it has been formed and shaped through the years (Brubaker, 1992). Historically, the four main peoples in the territory called Scotland today were the Picts, the Scots, the Britons and the Angles. Pittock (2001:21) argues that it was the Romans that first saw all these peoples as a single ethnic group. The Scots' influence increasingly expanded over the other groups and at around 500AD they established the kingdom of Dal Ríata, considered to be the first Scottish kingdom (ibid:15). Despite their differences, Scots, Picts, Britons and Angles showed little sign of conflict. By 1100, Gaelic was the general language of the country,<sup>69</sup> and by the time its position had altered, other factors were reinforcing a sense of distinct Scottish identity, with the most important one the development of a unitary kingship.

The Union of 1707 has been considered by nationalists as the culmination of Scottish history as a separate nation (Brown *et al*, 1996:38). Nonetheless, after the Union, Scotland did not cease to be a civil society. The Union marked the end of the Scottish Parliament, as it voted to dissolve itself into the new Parliament of Great Britain. However, it left relatively intact Scottish civil society, all those institutions that lie between the individual and the state and those areas of social life that are organised by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the direct control of the central state (ibid:38-39; McCrone, 2001:43-47). McCrone (2003: section 1) argues further that Scottish institutions, were not only left to their own devices by the Union, but that it was the Union itself that allowed Scottish civil society to prosper, as long as it did not rock the constitutional boat.

It is put forward that, since national feelings are not triggered by objective differences in ethnicity but by those differences which actors deem salient, it is the social boundaries that groups erect around themselves – rather than the cultural contents that these boundaries contain – which generate national identities (McCrone, 2001: 179-180). Accordingly, Paterson (1994) argues that Scotland's institutions, apart from having symbolic authority, formed a realm of shared meanings, in the sense that discussion about social policy took place within a Scottish context. The implication of Scotland having distinct institutions is not that these institutions function in an

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<sup>69</sup> Except in the Lothian area.



individual manner, dissimilar from equivalent European institutions. Rather, as McCrone (2001:179-180) explains, the implication is that they signify a space within which rules are set and interactions take place, so that people take for granted that there is a 'Scottish' way of practising law, education, religion and politics. This very act of institutional boundary creation is what generates a sense of essentialised and naturalised Scottishness.

Claims about the importance of institutions in Scotland can be found as far back as 1853, in the claim that 'Whoever – whatever man – be he black, white, red or yellow, the moment he identifies with the institutions of Scotland, that moment he became a member of the Scottish nation...' (Dove in Pittock, 2001:1). The above quote suggests a rather assimilationist civic nationalism, distinct from the ethnic romantic nationalisms that thrived in nineteenth century's Europe. This can be interpreted as a result of the Scottish elites – the only people enfranchised – already possessing the economic advantages that their counterparts in continental Europe had to fight for. Therefore, there was no need to revert to romantic nationalism.

Dickson (1989:58-59) and Paterson (1994) give a less critical, but equally significant, role to Scottish institutions in the formation of the Scottish identity. They claim that the character of a society is conditioned more by the daily interactions of human beings. Through direct contact of individuals with the country's institutions and with its professional staff such as teachers, social workers or bureaucrats, a different society with a distinct identity is created. Hence, whether it is the conceptual fencing-off of a society through separate institutions or the continuation of a culture through internal interaction that generates the Scottish identity, it appears to be an inward looking identity of a community that is not inclusive to new members, unless these new members are willing to identify with the existing institutions and culture.

Following his argument on the creation of a separate Scottish culture, Paterson (2002b:33) claims that the Scottish identity has a defining socio-political agenda. He thus claims that nowadays being Scottish is connected to having left-of-centre values. Historically, Scotland has supported both liberal and conservative parties, making it neither left wing nor right wing. Nevertheless, the historical domination of Scottish politics by the Liberals, influenced by the Protestant ethic – according to which those who had risen to the top of society had a duty to help those who were less well-off – developed a strongly paternalistic strand of liberalism. The split of the Church of

Scotland in 1843<sup>70</sup> resulted into the secularisation of Scottish politics and set the groundwork for the progression from paternalistic liberalism to social democratic values, which were to underpin forthcoming political values in Scotland (Brown *et al*, 1996:7-10).

Egalitarianism, as an inherent characteristic of Scottishness, is a significant part of the Scottish myth. Some authors (Paterson, 2002a:208-209; Brown *et al*, 1996:10-12) view Scottish institutions – such as the system of education – as having contributed to a relatively open and democratic Scotland from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Paternalistic liberalism has given Scotland a long history of holding that individual opportunity ought to be distributed fairly, and a broad feeling that creating a just society entails a public concern for just distribution. The myth of egalitarianism is inherent in all strands of Scottish civil society, which seek to explain the existence of class stratification in a variety of ways. Among them nationalists contend that class division is an alien importation from England, whilst socialists hold that the Scottish working class is instinctively prone to radicalism and the demand of an egalitarian society (McCrone, 2001:78-80).

The two dominant discourses, first that Scottish society contains unrivalled openness and secondly that Scotland is irredeemably a class society, have shaped how Scotland perceives itself. Brown *et al* (1996:131-134) claim that the turmoil in the beginning of the twentieth century, with the 1915 rent strikes, Red Clyde and the emergence of a socialist-nationalist martyr in the person of John MacLean, brought together a series of disputes – over housing, wages and conscription – which radicalised a substantial and diverse working class. They also resulted in the creation of left-wing organisations, an organisation network for different struggles and later the ascendance of the Labour Party.

Brown *et al* (ibid:19) also describe how the increasing electoral participation of Irish origin voters with Catholic social ideas, and the slow cessation of the Protestant working class's voting on religious grounds increased the Labour Party's support. The initial signs of electoral tension between Scotland and the rest of the UK, which appeared in the late 1950s, were ignored. This was an effect of Scotland's further integration to an all-British welfare state, which not only agreed with Scotland's dominant social democratic values but also allowed them to flourish. Nonetheless, in

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<sup>70</sup> When a section of the Church broke away, forming the Free Church of Scotland.



the 1970s, as the welfare state started crumbling and failing to live up to expectations, rather than blaming social democracy as its political progenitor, the Scottish public attributed culpability to the UK link itself.

A further swing towards left-of-centre culture grew from the experience of the Conservative Party rule between 1979 and 1997, when the electoral divide between Scotland and the rest of the UK led to Scotland being governed by a party it had not voted for (McEwen, 2000:77-79; Paterson, 2002a:209). It is argued (McCrone, 2001:147; McEwen, 2000:76-77) that even among Labour voters, Scottish supporters considered themselves more left-wing than their Southern counterparts. Moreover, the Thatcherite government's focus on free markets and a strong centralised state not only attacked the Scottish prevailing socio-political ideas, but also attacked institutions – such as the educational system, local government, and the public sector in general – which were conceived as carriers of Scotland's identity. As a result, this attack was perceived as an attack against Scotland and it further inflamed Scottish nationalism and a feeling of distinctiveness from the rest of the UK.

### **4.1.2 Inclusiveness of the Scottish Identity – Outsiders’ Perceptions**

Similarly to the perceptions found in Chapter 4.1, it has been argued that Scots are able to ‘to absorb all kinds of immigrants with relatively little fuss, including, most importantly the Irish in the nineteenth century’ (Smout in McCrone, 2001:144). Yet, Irish still face discriminatory behaviour, although because they do not have sufficiently different physiological or cultural characteristics, it is often not recognised as racism. According to a Commission for Racial Equality (CRE, 1997:2) research,<sup>71</sup> this racism affects many areas of Irish people’s lives, such as ‘workplaces, access to housing, treatment at benefits offices and interactions with neighbours and the police’.

Additionally, Kennedy (2002:117-120), a member of the Scottish Gypsy/Traveller community gives a less positive picture of Scotland than that offered by some of the theoretical literature reviewed above. He claims that despite the fact that the Traveller community has lived for generations in Scotland, they are racially abused, discriminated against, and have had their culture and traditions slowly squeezed and negated by those who still cannot deal with cultural diversity. The Traveller community in Scotland does not feel Scottish, as they are not able to celebrate their cultural heritage. Furthermore, the Scottish Executive rejects the claim that it should deal with Travellers in Scotland, referring to the issue as a matter for Westminster. Qureshi, Glaswegian born to Pakistani migrants, also makes the allegation that Scottish society rejects newcomers but does not want to admit its complicity. After discussing how since childhood she has constantly been reminded that she does not belong in Scotland, she raises the issue of segregation and criminalisation of refugees. She concludes by saying that ‘the history of Scotland is a whitewashed one’ (Qureshi, 2002:219), totally dismissing the idea of Scotland being an egalitarian, inclusive society.

The above perceptions are substantiated by research (Heim *et al*, 2004:20-30) that shows minoritised groups’ elevated levels of perceived discrimination and sense of exclusion by the majority culture. According to CRE Scotland, racist incidents rose from 917 in 2000 to 2,965 in 2003 (CRE, 2005a) and to 3,787 in 2004 (CRE, 2005b). Even so, these numbers do not show the whole picture as it is estimated that only a

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<sup>71</sup> Although this research did not focus on Scotland, it was UK-wide and included Scotland. Furthermore, it might not be a recent research, but in relation to the centuries of Irish migration it can be considered as a source that is still valid.



fifth of the occurring incidents are actually reported (ibid). Again, these numbers have risen further since the 7/7 London Bombings (Howie, 2006). Although this significant rise might indicate to a certain extent an increase in reporting incidents, these figures are nonetheless a challenge to those who claim that Scotland has an inclusive identity.

Miles and Dunlop (1987:119-137) attribute the widespread perception of Scotland as non-racist, not to the absence of racism *per se*, but to the relative absence of racialisation of the political process. This is because the political context in which migrants from the Indian Subcontinent – the largest minoritised ethnic group – found themselves upon arrival was already significantly fractionised through sectarianism. Therefore, it offered a low potential for sections of the host community to associate their presence with a political issue. Nonetheless, this was not the case for the more recent arrival of asylum seekers.<sup>72</sup> The hostility directed towards refugees and asylum seekers is high (Scottish Executive, n.d.b) and together with the rising numbers of reported racial incidents led the Scottish Executive to put racism into the political agenda through the launching the anti-racist campaign ‘One Scotland, Many Cultures’.

Despite hostility towards migrant groups, Scottish national identity tends to be defined mostly in opposition to Englishness, rather than in opposition to migrants and minoritised ethnic groups. This phenomenon is used by nationalists in their claim that their nationalism is civic and non-racist. Hussain and Miller (2004), however, in their research that related Islamophobia to Anglophobia, determined that phobias go together. Thus, anything encouraging one phobia tends to also encourage the other, even if not necessarily to the same degree. Moreover, Hussain and Miller agree with the argument that the distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism is not so simple as ‘civic nationalism can easily degenerate into ethnic nationalism as it filters down and is put into practice’, whilst minoritised groups may not be willing or able to ‘adopt the culture and join the nation’ (ibid, 2004:3).

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<sup>72</sup> See Mollart (2001) for a detailed analysis of the press coverage on asylum in Scotland.

### **4.1.3 Scottish Political Culture**

Theoretical notions of tolerance and equality are, therefore, not sufficient for the inclusiveness of a society. Scottish identity, even if it seems to incorporate these notions, does not necessarily reinforce them into being put in practice. Cultural symbols, images and an increasing emphasis on Scottish history could be exclusionist to those whose ethnic identity makes it difficult for them to identify with historic – as distinct from contemporary – Scotland. Moreover, even if political elites embrace political symbols that are inclusive, minoritised people can still be made to feel outsiders by the way they are treated by ordinary people in everyday life. If minoritised persons feel they are regarded by the general public as a burden on the country's resources or as a disloyal element, they are most likely to also feel excluded from membership in the community (Hussain & Miller, 2004:2).

Paterson (2002a:209-210) offers an insightful explanation of the Scottish oxymoron of 'nationalist multiculturalism'. He argues that Scottish culture has a commitment to community. However, the very strength of ideas of community account for both the inclusivity and exclusivity of Scottishness. This commitment is deeply rooted in the interventionist and, above all, locally focused mode of action, which derives from the paternalistic strand of liberalism in Scotland. Furthermore, 'localism and voluntarism were the ways in which an enthusiasm for public intervention could coexist happily with a liberal scepticism about the role of central government' (Paterson, 1994:59).<sup>73</sup>

Social communitarianism in Scotland is combined with a detachment from political action. Hence, although public action is favoured, political action is paradoxically treated with suspicion. Centuries of union, where politics seemed to belong to the remote forum of Westminster, reinforced by the wider cynicism about politics across the western world, have resulted in social policy, and social justice in particular, being inaugurated by committees of experts (Paterson, 2002a:209). These resulting networks of professional guidance, community allegiance and social communitarianism seem impenetrable to outsiders and dissidents.

Therefore, newcomers are eventually welcomed in Scotland, yet only on Scotland's terms. They are welcome on the condition that they fit in the civil society, in a country

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<sup>73</sup> This aspect of the Scottish political culture is significant and, as we will see later, it also affects the impact of adult education on migrants' social involvement.



where continuing cultural distinctiveness is treated with suspicion. As Hearn puts it, Scottish nationalism's civic nature is culturally determined. It arises out of a stream of political traditions, and is hardly dreamt up *de novo* by a collection of rational subjects' (Hearn, 2000:193-194). In conclusion, the inclusivity of the Scottish identity is not something that should be presumed. Even if the literature shows an open society bonded by civic virtues, inclusive political ideals and communitarian values, the realities that minoritised groups experience in Scotland do not necessarily coincide with such noble aspirations. Scottish identity seems to be open to people who are willing to adopt the existing culture, but the openness to new cultures and ways of thinking is debatable.

## 4.2 Greekness

A large-scale study of young people revealed the significance of the past for modern Greek identity. Over half of the respondents (64.3 per cent) felt proud to be Greek, but the interesting issue was that the overwhelming majority of them (75 per cent) attributed this sense of pride to the achievements and civilization of the ancient classical era (Kathimerini, 2005). This fixation with the past is an inherent element of the modern Greek identity and it generates what Kourvetaris and Dobratz (1987:26) term an ‘uncritical ancestoritis’. Folk traditions were the second most important source of pride for half of the respondents, whilst Greece’s staging the Olympic Games and the winning of the 2004 European Football Championship<sup>74</sup> were the only modern sources for ethnic pride (31.1 and 29.8 per cent respectively) (Kathimerini, 2005).

A linear interpretation of the past is commonly accepted in Greece. The fact that, in the Greek language, the terms ‘ethnic’ and ‘nation’ are not distinguished<sup>75</sup> is a manifestation of how the past and the present are intertwined in the modern Greek identity, ‘which embraces both the pre-modern concept of a homogeneous ethnic community and the modern nation as a political community’ (Triandafyllidou *et al*, 1997: section 4.2). As a consequence, the view of the Greek identity as being based on *ius sanguinis* is one that is generally taken for granted (e.g. Gourgouris, 1996:33; Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1987:3). Furthermore, the strong presence of a Greek diaspora and of co-ethnic minoritised populations outwith Greece attribute Greekness a non-territoriality and are considered as evidence for this essentialism (Gallant, 2001:113-114; Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002; Tsaousis, 2001:27). If that is correct, then Greekness is exclusive and only admits those who can somehow prove a blood-link to the Greek nation. However, Anderson (1991:145) argues that, in order for the idea of a nation to endure through the realities of history,<sup>76</sup> even the most insular nations allow new members. Moreover, as we saw with Scottishness, national identities tend to have a dualistic approach to nationalism and thus it is a matter of degree – and not of principle – whether they can be identified as civic or ethnic, inclusive or exclusive (Spencer & Wollman, 2002:94). However, the process through which an identity has been developed determines this degree.

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<sup>74</sup> Which was a recent event at the time the research was conducted.

<sup>75</sup> The term ‘*ethnos*’ (ἔθνος) is used for both meanings.

<sup>76</sup> And the constant move of populations.



## 4.2.1 The Historical Formation of Greek Identity and Political Culture

The term ‘Greekness’<sup>77</sup> first appeared in 1851. Some years later, in 1884, the legal term ‘naturalisation’<sup>78</sup> was translated into Greek. These dates are not coincidental, but show that it was just after the Greek Revolution of 1821-1828 that the boundaries of the Greek physiognomy and roots were being demarcated (Georgousopoulos, 2001:205-206). Greece, an early new state,<sup>79</sup> developed through the process of a revolution and state building and, as it would be expected, this process shaped its very identity.

Karakasidou (1993:18) argues that, despite perceptions in Greece, national identity is constructed through the process of how others conceive and deal with one. Applying this to our case, it can be said that Greece defines its identity in relation to Europe.<sup>80</sup> On the one hand, it uses its ancient heritage as a common western heritage in order to relay its claims of rightful partnership in Europe and, on the other hand, Europe takes the role of a model – yet alien – society, a financial, political and cultural debtor and therefore a judge (Karasarinis, 2001:9, 46-47).

Although, the definition of Greek identity has been and still is deeply influenced by the West, the choice of the ‘Hellenic’ identity, drawing from ancient Greece<sup>81</sup> also reflected internal factors. First, it penetrated the barrier of historical memory, which only went back to the end of the Byzantine era, and second it satisfied the status needs of the Greek bourgeoisie (Herzfeld, 1986:23; Kremmydas, 1988:205-208). While a sense of Greek identity existed before that time, the modern Greek identity, having developed under the influence of nationalist irredentism proceeded to a new notion according to which cultural heritage, albeit accessible to others, is now being conceived as within the ownership of the Greeks (Diamantouros, 2001:56-57).

In this way, we have the formation of an identity that is highly exclusive with regard to whoever does not possess a Greek ‘bloodline’. This idea is reflected in most authors’ –

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<sup>77</sup> *Ellinikotis* (ελληνικότης)

<sup>78</sup> *Ithagenia* (ιθαγένεια). As we will see later, another term – *politografisis* (πολιτογράφησης) – already existed in the language, yet it was not used in the Constitution or legal documents.

<sup>79</sup> Established by the London Protocol of 1830.

<sup>80</sup> Similarly to how Scotland defines itself in relation to England.

<sup>81</sup> Rather than the ‘Romeic’ identity, drawing from the Byzantine era.



and also most Greeks' – perception of Greece as being an *ius sanguinis* country (e.g. Gourgouris, 1996:33; Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1987:3). Nonetheless, in order to investigate whether this opinion is really valid, one could discuss the matter of Greekness in a different manner. That is by looking whether there is any evidence of civic, rather than ethnic, nationalism in the process of the Greek identity formation as well as in its contemporary manifestations.

There is a consensus that civic republican ideas were influential at the initial stages of the revolution (Gallant, 2001:20-21; Karasarinis, 2001:9; Mouzelis, 1978:12; Veremis, 2001:59-60). The revolution drew both from the ideas of the French Revolution and from local democratic traditions (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994:4; Gourgouris, 1996:84-85). Evidence of civic nationalist ideas can also be found in the documents of the first constitutional assemblies during the revolution (Karasarinis, 2001:236). However, in order to gain desperately-needed international support in post-Napoleonic Europe, Greeks had to cast their cause as an ethnic insurgence of an oppressed Christian population against the culturally alien Muslim oppressors, and not as a struggle based on the liberal principles of Enlightenment (Gallant, 2001:21).

Triandafyllidou and Veikou (2002:194) regard the construction of a common legal and political system, the existence of a national economy, a national army and the creation of a common public education system as constituting the territorial and civic features of Greekness. Nevertheless, it is important to see if such civic features also exist on the ideological level. If we go back to the term 'naturalisation', it is interesting to note that – despite the Constitution using the term *ithagenia*, which can also be translated as 'the quality of being indigenous' – the synonymous word *politografisis*, meaning 'inscribing upon one the mark of a citizen' and dating to the initial stages of the revolution, has remained in common use (Gourgouris, 1996:33). This term clearly signifies the civic aspects encompassed in one obtaining Greek citizenship and, since in Greece ethnic identity is intertwined with the political community, in acquiring Greek identity.

Furthermore, the current legal framework surrounding citizenship and naturalisation states clearly that any individual born in Greek territory whose parents are not citizens can gain citizenship with birth, if the parents choose *not* to pass on to the child their own citizenship. Although this does not allow for the existence of dual citizenship, it can be perceived as a serious challenge to the argument that Greece is an outright *ius sanguinis* country. The importance of civicness can also be noted by the immediate naturalisation of co-ethnics if they join the military forces, and also by the



requirement of other applicants to possess sufficient knowledge of the Greek language, history and civilisation in order to be eligible for naturalisation. At the same time, applicants lose their eligibility for naturalisation if in the past they have offended the Greek system of government (Hellenic Republic, 2001b: section 2; Hellenic Republic, 2004).

Most importantly, however, the civic aspects of Greekness can be recognised in the sections of the legislation concerning the loss of Greek citizenship. Accordingly, whoever may act in the interests of another country that conflict with the interests of Greece are deprived of their citizenship (Hellenic Republic, 2001b: section 2; Hellenic Republic, 2004: section 2). The connection between national conscience and Greekness is therefore more important than the link between 'blood' and Greekness. An exemplary illustration is the fact that, despite the importance of diasporas throughout modern Greek history, the exiled political refugees that left Greece at the end of the civil war and who form important communities in the former Eastern Block were until the early 1980s not considered as part of the diaspora.<sup>82</sup>

Given that nationality 'is a relationship of exchange of credibility that relies on one's recognition by the nation in exchange for one's loyalty as a national subject ... one's purchase of recognition of oneself as a legitimate national subject in exchange for one's pledged loyalty', anti-nationalist opposition is legally<sup>83</sup> constituted as treason (Gourgouris, 1996:25). In Greece, this was put in practice not too long ago, when during the nationalistic fervour caused by the conflict with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia over the Macedonian Question,<sup>84</sup> students were arrested for passing out anti-nationalist leaflets. Not only were these students sentenced, but also the signatories<sup>85</sup> to a petition for their freedom of expression were publicly defamed and highly stigmatised. These students' and signatories' Greekness was questioned and some even asked for the revocation of their citizenship (Karakasidou, 1994:49).

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<sup>82</sup> Although, in an attempt at conciliation, those of Greek ethnic background who have decided to return since 1982 were given back their citizenship. This excludes a large number of Slavic origin refugees (Christopoulos & Tsitselikis, 2003: section 2).

<sup>83</sup> The fact that it is legally constituted does not mean that it is always put in practice (Gourgouris, 1996:25).

<sup>84</sup> This was a conflict between Greece and FYROM over the ownership of name, history and symbols of Macedonia. A great number of rallies were held both in Greece and in countries with significant diaspora demanding FYROM not to be recognised as Macedonia. The great majority of the population participated in them as schools, universities, the public sector and the Orthodox Church were closed on these specific days and encouraged people to participate.

<sup>85</sup> Mostly academics, writers and artists.

Although civic nationalism is usually presumed to be a positive attitude, this is also a case of civic nationalism and an obviously negative one. As in the case of the exiled Greeks discussed above, this nationalism shunned individuals who would otherwise be considered to belong to the ethnic group, yet who are seen as not possessing Greekness due to their political values.

From the above one realises that, although the ethno-cultural notion of Greekness is the most prominent aspect of Greek identity, civic loyalty and assimilation are also key elements. 'Cultural assimilation is the price that must be paid...for integration into a political community' (Mitchell & Russell in Spencer & Wollman, 2002:100). As we saw in the previous section, even the Scottish identity, despite its claims to inclusiveness, demands that for one to be really included they must adopt the dominant culture. What makes Greece more openly and actively assimilationist, in comparison to a country like Scotland, is not as much the ethno-cultural legacy of its identity but rather the republican, in contrast to the multicultural, direction of its civic nationalism.



### ***4.2.2 Inclusiveness of the Greek Identity – Outsiders’ Perceptions***

With the very emergence of the Greek state there was an intense debate over who could – and who could not – fully claim Greek membership. The population was divided into two, the autochthonous who were born within the territory of the new state and the heterochthonous who had moved from outside. Albeit the 1844 Constitution included both these categories as Greek subjects, the heterochthonous were barred from working in the civil service and were therefore excluded from any form of influential position (Gallant, 2001:41,70; Karasarinis, 2001:42-43). Despite the vision of Greekness as not being restricted to those born within Greece, this division has continued since, with those Greeks born outwith the Greek state being disadvantaged when they arrive in the country.<sup>86</sup>

This experience was shared by the 1,300,000 refugees from Asia Minor who arrived in Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Although the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey aimed at the creation of nationally homogeneous countries,<sup>87</sup> upon arrival these Greek refugees were perceived as the Other. The evident cultural differences as well as the spatial segregation created a huge gap between the host community and the newcomers, despite the state having given equal rights and status to both communities. Prejudices bordering on racism were not uncommon and they led to further divisions, namely those of class and, most significantly, of political affiliations. The solution to these divisions put forward by the state, but also by the majority of the host community, was that, since these people were there to stay, a process of cultural assimilation was urgently required (Gallant, 2001:145-150; Maurogordatos, 2001:77-80).

The position of the Greek refugees has now been taken by migrants, whether of Greek or of other origin. According to a 2005 study of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (in Delithanassi, 2005:29), the great majority of Greeks (87.5 per cent) hold a negative stance towards the phenomenon of migration<sup>88</sup> and 84.7 per cent perceive foreigners in Greece as being a national threat. At the same time 59 per

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<sup>86</sup> For example, ethnic Greeks from Albania or the former USSR.

<sup>87</sup> So that there would be an end in the claims for minority populations and therefore for border changes and conflicts.

<sup>88</sup> The equivalent percentage for Britain is 51.04.

cent of Greeks, the highest proportion in Europe, were against their society becoming multicultural<sup>89</sup> and 31.5 per cent were in favour of the introduction of repatriation schemes for legal migrants.<sup>90</sup> The above indicate an unwillingness to accept, let alone welcome, new communities. Interestingly, the only area of this research where Greeks scored low levels of opposition was the offering of civil and political rights to legal migrants (32.5 per cent).<sup>91</sup>

High levels of discrimination and xenophobia towards migrants – and minoritised people in general – have also been recorded by international NGOs such as Amnesty International (2006) and Statewatch (2006). They argue that racial profiling has played a part in the human rights violations suffered by migrants and other minoritised individuals and that legislation introduced in order to protect human rights and to safeguard freedom from discrimination (e.g. Hellenic Republic, 2001a:1702; Hellenic Republic, 2005a) is yet to be implemented due to their complexity (Theodorides & Dimitrakopoulos, 2004:4,20), loopholes and inefficient support structures for the victims. Members of these communities have also expressed their dissatisfaction with the inclusiveness of Greek society and the consequences it has upon their reception.

Courtovic (1997:47-49) argues that intolerance is justified in various ways according to the perceived differences of each minoritised group. Thus, discrimination against migrants is legitimated in the name of safeguarding vested socio-economic interests, injustice towards Roma is permissible in the name of an assumed lower cultural status, and bigotry towards autochthonous ethnic minoritised groups near the borders is justified in the name of national interest. According to Courtovic, Greek society is monocultural. 'Lifestyle, education, religion, history and culture have a single direction and whoever dares to divert from this direction, might not be thrown to the fire, but always remains in the margin' (ibid:48). Accordingly, the degree of compliance with the national 'norm' of behaviour, appearance and consciousness determines the level of one's social inclusion and the extent to which one's legal rights will be respected both by individuals and by the state. Similar concerns about exclusion, discrimination and assimilationist policies from the point of view of the

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<sup>89</sup> The opposition to multiculturalism in Britain was 20.30 per cent.

<sup>90</sup> Percentage for Britain was 27.7.

<sup>91</sup> Maybe because Greece, among EU countries, has until now offered less civil and political rights to legal migrants. Britons' opposition in this case was higher with 48.5 per cent.



above communities are raised by Lambrou (1997:59-61) and Onsunoglou (1997:62-64).

### **4.2.3 Greek Political Culture**

The formation process of the new state also influenced the ensuing political culture of the population. The development of an enormous bureaucracy generated a colossal administrative apparatus, which combined with the culture of clientelism, limited the extent to which the Greek civil society grew (Mouzelis, 1978:16-17; Tsoukalas, 2001:47-48). Thus, in Greece civil society organizations and communitarian ideas have been weaker than in other western countries.

Another factor influencing the development of political culture is the relationship between the individual and the state. The individual in Greece is philosophically and practically subordinated to the state. Historically, the basic social unit in Greece is the extended family, rather than the autonomous individual. With the rise of nationalism and the formation of the new state, 'the notion of self continued to be understood in terms of "family" to which was added another layer: that of the organic modern state' (Pollis, 1992:173). Accordingly, legal positivism became the philosophical grounding of the Greek legislative, which perceives rights as deriving from the state and not as being inherent in the individual (ibid:174-179).

Gourgouris (1996:167-169) describes how the bureaucracy, which has become the hypostasis of the Greek state, has cultivated a culture in which there is a strong distrust of the state. The mechanisms of power, given their ubiquity and primacy over individual rights, have thus led to the generation of a culture of remarkable social flexibility and cooperation in order to outsmart these mechanisms, particularly within one's social networks. The above collision between the state and society has had the consequence that, within Greek society, there is limited respect for formal organizations, and individuals depend more on non-institutionalised networks.<sup>92</sup>

While civil society has not flourished in Greece, a certain aspect of it has been more developed than others. This is the aspect of political organizations and movements. Greece's historically fragmented political scene led to the development of a great variety of political groupings, many of whom have been challenging the establishment and the members of which are usually actively involved in the organizations' activities (Gallant, 2001:119-120). This focus on politics has had a great impact on the philosophy of Greek civil society given that these groups tend to reject the humanist

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<sup>92</sup> This is a notion that proved to be an important factor in the study.



stance on issues such as inclusion and integration in favour of a more political position (Rolheiser, 1997:50-53; Papadopoulou, 1997:54-55).<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, the fact that the overwhelming majority of Greek society is opposed to the idea of their country becoming multicultural means that only a small segment of the population is involved in movements for the support of migrants' and minoritised groups' rights. The political tradition described above in combination with the small proportion of the population participating in these groupings make them radicalised and isolated from the mainstream of society. As a result, contrary to the situation of Scotland where supporters of migrants endorse their ideas based on the premise of an inclusive Scottishness, migrants' advocates in Greece tend to reject the very idea of Greekness.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Partly as a result of the pervasion of idealism in modern-Greek culture.

<sup>94</sup> Evidence for this is the fact that, contrary to the case of Scotland where anti-racist and pro-asylum rallies take place on Scotland's national St. Andrew's day, in Greece equivalent events are usually followed by the desecration of national symbols (Ergatiki Exousia, 2005:13).

## 4.3 The Openness of Scottish and Greek Communities

From comparing the social contexts within which migrants find themselves in Scotland and Greece, one could conclude that despite Scottishness' claim to be inclusive and Greekness' claim to be exclusive, in reality both communities find it difficult to deal with Otherness on a cultural and political level. Perceptions of Scottish identity, despite indicating a certain amount of openness, demand acculturation in exchange for full acceptance, thus limiting the degree to which migrants can engage in society. What mostly affects their social involvement, however, is the political culture, which encourages engagement on the local level, but not on the politico-ideological one.

On the other hand, the Greek legal framework is restrictive to the cultural Other. This, in turn, generates a social context that promotes xenophobia and the exclusion of migrants. Perceptions of Greek identity further hinder integration and migrants' socio-political involvement, requiring cultural assimilation as a proof of civic loyalty in order for rights to be given in exchange. A more positive aspect, however, is the non-institutionalisation of the public sphere, which can offer the possibility for building alliances with social groups that are challenging the above legal and social contexts.



# CHAPTER 5 – THE HOST COMMUNITY: EDUCATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING MIGRANTS' SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

This chapter discusses the educational traditions of Scotland and Greece, which together with the social contexts explored before, influence the degree, and the ways through which, second language adult education classes can support migrants' social involvement.

## 5.1 Developments in Adult Education – Scotland

### 5.1.1 *Current Approach*

Since the 1980s there has been a proliferation of developments taking place in adult education in Scotland. The most positive is the increasing attention being paid to the access of adults to tertiary education, as well as their increasing participation in formal education in general. According to the Scottish Executive statistics on lifelong learning (2005a:133), the proportion of adults – non full-time students between the ages of 25 and 64 – who had undertaken some sort of learning<sup>95</sup> within the previous year of the study was 70.45 per cent.<sup>96</sup> This is a percentage that is indeed very significant. Another development is the setting up of guidance services for information and advice to current or prospective adult learners, a notable example of which is Learndirect Scotland and Careers Scotland. These services are crucial for increasing the participation of adults and are of particular importance to those groups that are not traditionally represented in education and who have problems in accessing information about adult education opportunities.

At the same time, there is growing participation in continuing professional development and work-based learning. Unfortunately, focus on this type of adult education is happening at the expense of the liberal, voluntary and community education sectors, which have been receiving less and less funding. Moreover, these

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<sup>95</sup> The definition of learning used in these statistics is broad, from taught courses to independent self-studying.

<sup>96</sup> The statistics are limited to people of working age, excluding older adults. This is the case both in Scottish and Greek statistics. As we will see in more detail later, this indicates the link policy makers make between adult education and employability and, as a result, the misleadingness of the term 'lifelong learning'.

sectors are being replaced by different type of services, namely educational guidance and liaison between the individual and formal institutions (Alexander, 1994:1-2; Gerver, 1992:389-399). It is evident that there is a strong inclination towards vocational education and, more generally, education for employability. Furthermore, there is an increasing attention on the individual learner as a consumer or customer, whilst communities are perceived simply as the sums of individuals. In other words, although what we experience currently in the field of adult education in Scotland is an effort to widen participation, there is a simultaneous strong pressure towards functionalism limiting the options of what learning adults can participate in.

The current interest in adult basic education (Gerver, 1992:399), whether that is literacy and numeracy education or ESOL, is to a certain extent also underpinned by perceptions of employability. As a result, in the case of ESOL courses, it is almost exclusively those learning programmes that lead to accreditation that receive consistent funding from the Scottish Executive.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, based on the social integrationist model, which links social inclusion to the ability to participate in the labour market, adult education for marginalized groups, such as ESOL learners, is being perceived by the Executive as an instrument of social policy.

Nonetheless, not all aspects of adult education in Scotland have been tainted by the ideological construction of education 'as both the problem and solution to macro-economic and structural problems' (Alexander, 1994:6). Indeed, there are still organizations and educators who, to a greater or lesser extent, draw from what has been termed as 'democratic and independent traditions of thought and action in which adult education has been an organic part rather than a professional provider' (ibid:2). There are many different types of adult education providers in Scotland today. These include community education services, universities, further education colleges, private and public sector employers, private agencies, voluntary organizations and trade unions (Gerver, 1992:395; Scottish Executive, 2003:12-13). From the above are evident, not only the multiple forms, but also the different interests in adult education. As mentioned before, this range of educational settings leads to the hypothesis that different approaches to adult education, whether that is functionalist, liberal or radical, find their competing expression in Scottish society – although the degree of

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<sup>97</sup> The case of the Adult Literacy and Numeracy Policy differs in that, due to such skills normally being acquired during compulsory schooling, there has been an effort to assess achievement through a learner's 'distance travelled' (Adult Literacy Team, 2001:30). However, even in this field there is increasing pressure for formal accreditation in terms of Core Skills Levels achieved (HM Inspectorate of Education, 2005: section 3).



their impact is subject to contextual factors such as policy, history and epistemological trends.<sup>98</sup>

The current lifelong learning strategy for Scotland, 'Life through Learning, Learning through Life', was announced in 2003 and it put forward as a vision 'the best possible match between the learning opportunities open to people and the skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviours which will strengthen Scotland's economy and society' (Scottish Executive, 2003:6). The context within which the strategy is situated is – similarly to its predecessor<sup>99</sup> – the economic, technological and ensuing social changes that have been taking place in the last decades. Most particularly, Scotland's low economic growth and productivity and its declining and ageing population are seen as problems that have to be tackled through this lifelong learning policy. For the first time this strategy also takes account of the European Union and OECD context within which it is formulated, and particularly the European Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong Learning (European Commission, 2000).<sup>100</sup>

Drawing from the above interests, lifelong learning policy is defined as being 'about personal fulfilment and enterprise; employability and adaptability; active citizenship and social inclusion' (Scottish Executive, 2003:7). It is not difficult to notice that some of these terms conflict with one another,<sup>101</sup> so one is left wondering what this definition *really* means. However, this is made clearer in the justification for the interest in lifelong learning, which is Scotland's economic growth and social cohesion (ibid).

From the above, one can sense the functionalist direction that this policy is putting forward. Driven by top-down rather than bottom-up concerns, adult education policy aims to bring practical solutions to the economic problems of the country. At the same time, the promotion of social cohesion is a means of keeping dissenting voices in the margins. The strategy puts forward five goals: offering people the appropriate confidence, enterprise, knowledge, creativity and skills; assuring the provision of high quality learning programmes; recognising, applying and developing knowledge and

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<sup>98</sup> This hypothesis will be discussed in the concluding chapter, drawing from the evidence of the study's findings.

<sup>99</sup> 'Opportunity Scotland: A Paper on Lifelong Learning' (Scottish Executive, 1998). The same ideas, yet more overtly functionalist, are found in the 'A Smart, Successful Scotland' strategy (Scottish Executive, 2001).

<sup>100</sup> Opportunity Scotland's only reference to the EU was in relation to funding for lifelong learning (Scottish Office, 1998: section 2.6,15.13).

<sup>101</sup> In particular, the concepts of employability and adaptability are in reality conflicting with the author's understanding of active citizenship and social inclusion.

skills in the workplace; offering guidance and support for taking learning decisions; and ensuring equal opportunities in learning. One can easily notice, however, that although these goals are set within a certain economic vision, they are generic and thus need not be confined to the strategy's wider aims. In other words, for those educators who hold different ideas in relation to the purpose of their work, there is still some space for manoeuvre.



### ***5.1.2 The Case of Second Language Adult Education***

The lifelong learning strategy targets particular social groups. These are adults whose skills have become outdated, people who want to develop or change career, those who because of their family situation have previously been prevented from taking up learning opportunities and people with particular educational support needs (Scottish Executive, 2003:27). Second language learners can be considered as belonging to this last group and, for this reason, to be deserving of particular attention. Moreover, the Scottish Executive, having agreed to implement any recommendations made by the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum (SRIF) (2005), is required to create learning opportunities for asylum seekers and refugees, who are a substantial section of migrants in Glasgow.

The SRIF action plan included the development of a Scottish strategy for ESOL (ibid:62). This strategy is not yet in place, but according to the consultation paper published it has the vision that all non-native speaking Scottish residents should have the opportunity to 'acquire the language skills to enable them to participate in Scottish life: in the workplace, through further study, within the family, the local community, Scottish society and the economy. These language skills are central to giving people a democratic voice and supporting them to contribute to the society in which they live' (Scottish Executive, 2005b:1). The aspirations of the strategy are for provision to be accessible and of high quality; to aid the inclusion and full participation of migrants in Scottish society and economy; to recognise and value the cultures of the learners and their contribution to Scotland; to promote personal and social achievement; and to support and encourage routes into further learning, employment and participation in the community (ibid:2).

The aims put forward in this strategy plan are much more holistic than those of the lifelong learning strategy. Students are seen as both individuals and as members of a society to which they have the right, but also the responsibility, to contribute. Pluralism and dialogue are welcome as a means of reconstructing the understanding of different social actors and thus benefiting society as a whole. In relation to learners as individuals, personal achievement and progression, as well as access for those who are the hardest to reach, are further concerns of the strategy, which in comparison to the lifelong learning strategy, shows a greater influence of the liberal approach to adult education.

### **5.1.3 Historical Background**

Having noticed the divergent approaches existing within different sectors of adult education policy, we should turn to the historical background of adult education in Scotland in order to explore its influence on current developments and practice. The first organised form of adult education in Scotland dates back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Initially, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge taught literacy through the medium of the Bible and other Christian texts. The purpose of this education focused on the endorsing of Anglican Christian beliefs and the respective teaching of one's duties to society (Bryant, 1984:3; Fieldhouse, 1998:20).

Beyond catechetic remedial adult education, the Scottish universities, having had a tradition of openness and accessibility, also embarked on offering public lectures on popular philosophical and scientific subjects (Hamilton & Slowey, 2005:12-13) for educational and commercial reasons. These endeavours mainly targeted the middle classes. Before the end of the eighteenth century though, members of the working class in Scotland had also initiated an organised attempt for self-education through the founding of workingmen's subscription libraries for miners. These first instances of adult education in Scotland were not part of a coherent provision of adult education (Bryant, 1984:3). However, they illustrate the different aims behind adult education in Scotland and can be seen as heralding both top-down and grassroots future initiatives.

Forms of organised and systematic adult education in Scotland did not appear until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most prominent were the Mechanics' Institutes. The purpose behind their establishment was 'that much pleasure would be communicated to the mechanic in the exercise of his art, and that the mental vacancy which follows a cessation from bodily toil would often be agreeably occupied by a few systematic philosophical ideas upon which, at his leisure, he might meditate' (Birkbeck in Bryant, 1984:4). The classes offered in these institutes combined subjects with vocational, moral and leisure purpose, although increasingly the latter became the most prominent (Bryant, 1984:3-6). At the same time, the belief of some academics that working people have the right to the benefits offered by higher education led to the Scottish universities founding extension courses on subjects such as the sciences, economics, politics and history. These extension courses were popular and with time they also became accredited (Hamilton & Slowey, 2005:14-15).



Increasing fear of foreign competition required that the state should also contribute to working people's education (Fieldhouse, 1998:3). Thus, from the mid-nineteenth century onward, local authorities provided mostly vocational adult education in the form of evening 'continuation classes' (Gerver, 1992:391). As a result, by the mid-nineteenth century there was already a tradition of adult education in Scotland with evening schools alone catering for around 15,000 students (Bryant, 1984:7). According to Merricks (2000), contrary to historians' focus on liberal or radical adult education, much of the provision was of vocational nature, which had a particular appeal to the working class. As Fieldhouse (1998:2) points out, just like today, demand for such courses lay, not only in employers' need for a skilled workforce, but also in many workers' perception that the acquisition of skills would enable them to gain or improve their employability.

Most of the provision described above, including the Mechanics' Institutes, targeted mainly skilled workers rather than the lower segments of the working class. The middle class providers' prejudices and misconceptions about the intelligence and educational background of ordinary people limited the accessibility of these endeavours. In response to that, educational associations stemming from radical movements, such as the Chartist and the co-operative movements, initiated educational programmes for social purpose and taught courses on literacy, numeracy, geography and, to some extent, politics and poetry. Unlike other provision described above – and apart from targeting a wider population – education stemming from popular movements was also based on the idea that education could act against the *status quo* and thus serve the interests of those involved in the popular struggles (Crowther, 1999:30; Bryant, 1984:6).

Additionally, with the emergence of the labour movement at the end of the century, members of the working class embarked on developing independent educational programmes which, rather than increasing the efficiency of students in the labour market, would serve the self-development of the working class and the political interests of the labour movement. This education, blended with politics, took the form of open-air political lectures, discussion classes, workers' study groups and evening classes. They were primarily on economics and drew largely from the writings of Marx. These classes had a significant appeal to the population and by 1920 the Scottish Labour College – founded by John MacLean – and the Glasgow Plebs League had a total of 2,800 enrolled students (Alexander, 1994, section 2; Bryant, 1984:6-10).

The twentieth century history of adult education in Scotland saw not only an increase in student numbers, but also a more conscious division between the different strands of adult education. Thus, apart from the labour movement's independent education, there was an increasing separation between vocational and liberal, technical and cultural adult education. The establishment of extra-mural committees by universities and their partnership with the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and trade unions gave an impetus to the promotion of liberal and social purpose tutorial classes (Hamilton & Slowey, 2005:15-16; Duncan, 2003:184). In these classes, students of all different economic backgrounds studied subjects such as languages, literature, science, philosophy and psychology (Hamilton & Slowey, 2005:18-20).

The WEA in particular, although not as successful in Scotland as in England and despite the criticisms of the left for collaboration with the state, promoted working class access to higher education through endorsing a combination of individual enrichment and socio-political awareness curricula (Duncan, 1999:107). The early twentieth century was an era when liberal adult education received extensive support. This support was also found among policy-makers, which can be seen in the liberal commitment of the Ministry of Reconstruction 1919 Report on Adult Education, to which prominent Scottish WEA members had contributed (Duncan, 2003:181).

In the post-war period, the Education (Scotland) Act 1945 and particularly the Education (Scotland) Act 1969 promoted further all forms of adult education, including liberal and social purpose education. With the 1945 Act, local authorities became statutory providers although it was left to the discretion of local councils to determine the type and levels of provision. By the beginning of the 1950s the diversity of providers had increased greatly and included universities, colleges, churches, community and youth centres, trade unions, adult education bodies, cultural societies, voluntary organizations, libraries, museums and leisure centres. Moreover, the founding of the Scottish Institute of Adult Education, to function as an information and documentation centre and as a forum for discussion of policy and practice, indicates the increasing professionalisation of adult education in Scotland. However, despite the flourishing of adult education, the lower socio-economic classes and/or people with limited educational background were still not being reached by this provision (Bryant, 1984:16-18).

The 1975 Alexander Report aimed to alter the disproportional participation of disadvantaged groups in adult education. It thus strengthened community education and set out as aims of adult education policy the reaffirmation of individuality, the



fostering of a pluralist society and the idea of education for social change. Although community education has remained until today an important aspect of adult education in Scotland, shortly after the publishing of the Alexander Report, state support for liberal education became restricted and as a result these objectives were never reached. Contrary to the aims of the Alexander Report, the 1980s saw a decline in participation in adult education *per se*, although adults were increasingly being admitted into formal education (Hamilton & Slowey, 2005:72-80). Furthermore, there was a turn towards vocational education with agencies such as the Manpower Services Commission becoming new major players in adult education (Gerver, 1992:392-393). This, however, did not entail all adult education following a conservative direction, as there were still adult education initiatives with a radical<sup>102</sup> or liberal approach.<sup>103</sup>

The above historical account is by no means complete, yet it indicates that the field of adult education is an innate formation of Scottish society, whose many different sections have tried to develop it and use it for their own objectives. Although at different times a certain approach to adult education might be favoured, all approaches and combinations of approaches to adult education have been indeed initiated by different social groups in Scotland. Thus, functionalist interests in developing a 'moral' and efficient workforce, liberal perceptions of the benefits of education and grassroots demand for education for social change have all, to a greater or lesser extent, shaped the history and, as a result, the current provision of adult education in Scotland. In conclusion, despite the recent prominence of a functionalist adult education strategy, there is space for other policies – such as the ESOL policy – not to endorse functionalist educational aims and methods, as well as a tradition on which dissenting adult educators can draw in their everyday work.

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<sup>102</sup> (e.g. Kirkwood & Kirkwood, 1989)

<sup>103</sup> For example, the university evening classes.

## 5.2 Developments in Adult Education – Greece

### 5.2.1 Current Approach

The adult education sector in Greece has seen important developments in the last few years. Since the 1980s there have been many adult learning programmes on offer, mostly owing to the financial contribution of the European Social Fund (ESF). However, it was not until the last few years that some steps towards the professionalisation and systematic promotion of adult education have been taken. Nowadays, the term ‘lifelong learning’ has clearly become a buzz word and the ‘General Secretariat for Lifelong Learning’, formerly known as the ‘General Secretariat for Popular Education’, has increased its jurisdiction. Furthermore, for the first time there are now both postgraduate and undergraduate courses on adult education, a few books on the subject have been published in Greek,<sup>104</sup> a national accreditation centre for educational programmes, providers and educators has been established, and continuing professional development is being offered in some public and private organizations (Kokkos, 2005:114). Moreover, there is a professional association of adult educators, who also publish a journal, and a legal framework for issues that relate to adult education is slowly being shaped.<sup>105</sup>

The most significant characteristics of adult education in Greece today are the focus on vocational training, the demand for places – and subsequent expansion – of the Open University<sup>106</sup> and the increasing professionalisation of the field. Other trends are the linking of vocational education with the needs of the labour market and the raising of the status of adult education qualifications, mostly as a result of the growing professionalisation of the field. In addition, although providers are beginning to detach themselves from ESF financing by developing separate activities, due to the lack of initiative by the Greek state, European Union priorities still play a dominant role in the development of adult education in Greece. In particular, the concentration on educational activities aimed at enhancing employability and social inclusion – interpreted according to the social integrationist model again – combined with the absence of national resources to support other learning activities, have had as a

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<sup>104</sup> e.g. ‘Teaching Adults’ by Alan Rogers; ‘Adult and Continuing Education: Theory and Practice’ by Peter Jarvis; ‘500 Tips for Open and Flexible Learning’ by Phil Race.

<sup>105</sup> Although there is still no formal educational strategy put forward by the state.

<sup>106</sup> Set up in 1998, the Open University provides the only realistic opportunity for mature students to enter higher education in Greece.



consequence the decrease of adult education for non-vocational purposes (Karalis & Vergidis, 2004:181,184; Vergidis, 1992:230-231). In other words, the trend of adult education in Greece is highly functionalist, whereas learning in itself or learning for social purposes is almost entirely neglected. As a result, few providers offer non-accredited courses, the curriculum tends to serve vocational purposes and the setting and methods of the courses follow that of formal educational institutions.

There is a complex network of adult education providers which is being developed in parallel with, yet independently from, the tiers of the formal state educational system. Nowadays, a multitude of both public and private organizations offer adult education programmes (Kokkos, 1995:20). However, it should be noted that the input of the private sector is growing significantly whilst the participation of the state, local authorities and social partners is increasingly becoming restricted. Providers include public administration and private corporate bodies, private or public centres for vocational education, non-governmental organizations, trade unions and the Open University. In addition, other universities will soon be participating in the provision of adult education courses through the establishment of Institutes of Lifelong Education, which will be offering accredited continuing education courses for graduates and people who have completed secondary education (Vergidis, 1992:223; Karalis & Vergidis, 2004:181-187).

Contrary to the above provision that has a largely functionalist orientation,<sup>107</sup> a limited number of small non-governmental organizations and groups of the extra-parliamentary left have recently been initiating educational courses on languages, political economy and the arts. The aims of these courses coincide with those of the radical tradition, but the methodology employed often draws rather from the traditional didactical pedagogical methods known to educators from their previous educational experiences. However, participants in these courses do not recognise them as adult education but rather as political activities, due to most participants being *young* adults and because adult education is perceived by the general public as a type of *formal* institutionalised education.

Despite these recent developments, the participation of Greeks in adult education is the second lowest in Europe with only 17 per cent of those between the ages of 25 and 64 having ever participated in any form of learning in 2003 (Eurostat, 2005:2). This

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<sup>107</sup> Including the provision of the trade unions.

finding is verified by European Commission research, which found that the average percentage of citizens in Europe aged between 25 and 64 who had participated in an educational programme in the month before the study was 8.5, whilst the Greek percentage was 1.2 (European Commission, 2003:24).<sup>108</sup> Nonetheless, the more adult education is promoted by the government, as well as by the increasingly self-aware body of adult educators, the greater these numbers are expected to become.

In 2005, the Greek parliament passed a law 'On the Systemisation of Lifelong Learning and Other Provisions'. This act<sup>109</sup> was the first attempt since 1929 (Boucoulas, 1988:32) to define and set a legal framework of adult education in Greece. The act defines 'lifelong education' as 'every learning process – including that of empirical learning – throughout a person's life, with the aim of gaining or improving generic or scientific knowledge, abilities and skills; for the formation of a fulfilled personality or for access to employment' (Hellenic Republic, 2005c:2793). Having defined lifelong education, the act offers a detailed description of who provides adult education, to whom, at which level, how the courses are organised and how the students receive credits.

Nonetheless, this legal framework is seriously deficient given that, despite its wider definition of 'lifelong education', it refers only to organised forms of learning, disregards adult education offered by non-governmental organizations, and targets only younger adults. There is no reference to education for disadvantaged social groups – such as migrants – and it is obvious that the legislation is primarily an instrument for the market, and not for education in itself, for social welfare or for social change. Reinforcing the functionalist approach to adult education, central to this legislation are the providers, and not citizens' needs, interests or problems. Yet, the most striking drawback of the act is the fact that it tries to manage adult education through bureaucratic guidelines, while at the same time wider aims or strategy are lacking. In other words, this current effort for providing a legal framework for adult education in Greece is an imposition of unsystematic regulations from above, which simply expand the opportunities for attaining formal education with the central objective the improvement of participants' employability.

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<sup>108</sup> The equivalent proportion for the UK is 22.9 per cent.

<sup>109</sup> Commonly known as the 3369/2005 Act.



### **5.2.2 The Case of Second Language Adult Education**

Although there is no stated political strategy referring to adult migrants' language education,<sup>110</sup> in order to consider Greece's chosen policy on the subject one can use the educational centres' requirements and guiding principles for the receipt of government funding. Rather than being based on the legislation of adult education, these principles draw from the policy on supporting services for the mainstreaming<sup>111</sup> of socially excluded groups (Hellenic Republic, 2002:10558-10561). Thus, for courses to receive funding, they are required to target migrants who are unemployed and to aim for the development of their linguistic skills in such ways as to improve students' social inclusion and employability. By the end of the course, students are expected to have enhanced their ability to move into further vocational training, accessing services of social and psychological support and looking for employment (Ministry of Labour, 2002:9-10).

Despite their functionalist wider objectives, these courses are required to follow a relatively humanistic methodology.<sup>112</sup> They need to be student-centred, encourage participation in the class and, beyond the teaching of linguistic skills, they are supposed to develop social and communication skills. The curriculum is intended to draw from students' realities and to be delivered in ways that boosts students' confidence. Furthermore, these programmes have to follow an individualised approach where each student, with the help of a Manpower Employment Organization's counsellor, composes an Individual Action Plan according to their particular needs and skills (ibid:13-18). Yet, despite the student-centred approach to methodology, since the objective of the courses is the facilitation of the students' access to the labour market, students' participation in the examinations for the Certificate of Attainment in Greek is compulsory (Mattheoudakis, 2005:324). In this way, these courses are a typical example of contemporary language education where, although the methods follow humanistic principles, the student has less input when it relates to formal assessing and therefore to the actual curriculum itself.

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<sup>110</sup> Equivalent to Scotland's ESOL Strategy.

<sup>111</sup> 'Mainstreaming' means 'actively and openly taking into account immigration issues in all relevant policies and measures at EU and national level' (European Commission, 2004b:10).

<sup>112</sup> As we saw in Chapter Two, functionalist adult education often employs liberal student-centred methodology.

### **5.2.3 Historical Background**

The above policy context can be understood better through examining the Greek history of adult education. Slightly later than Scotland, the first appearance of adult education in Greece was in the middle of the nineteenth century. Educational associations, such as the Parnassos Literary Association, the Friends of the People Society, the Society for the Dissemination of Greek Literature and the Ladies' Society for Women's Education, established libraries and night schools aiming at the spread of literacy and numeracy. Apart from the above organizations, which were endeavours of the educated middle classes, religious bodies also contributed to the basic education of a largely illiterate population. Nonetheless, in both cases, the education provided was very much limited to literacy and had the aim of morally instructing the population (Vergidis, 1992:219).

The scope of adult education was expanded since the end of the nineteenth century when the middle classes showed an interest in the working classes' vocational education. This led to the establishment of a few technical night schools for young workers and engineers. However, their number was very limited. By the turn of the century, the labour movement also got involved in the provision of adult education organising evening courses and Sunday schools on science, literature, socialism, sociology, religion, hygiene, social economy, labour history and physics (Vergidis, 1992:219-220; Kokkos, 2005:19). This provision, however, has been rather undocumented and it is difficult to say whether that is the case due to its limited popularity and impact, due to having been intentionally undermined or as a result of both.

The first official state contribution to adult education was made in 1929 by the liberal government, which introduced adult courses on agriculture, commerce, handicrafts and domestic sciences. In addition, the act established literacy night schools (Boucouvalas, 1988:32).<sup>113</sup> The aims of these courses were to raise literacy and basic education levels and to offer vocational training, but at the same time they carried a strong element of moral instruction. In particular, adult education targeted non-Greek speakers and minoritised groups as part of a wider effort to assimilate these populations (Argiropoulos & Dimitrakis, n.d.). It is therefore not a coincidence that

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<sup>113</sup> See Chapter 5.2.1.



this first engagement of the Greek state in adult education was at an era during which the country's borders were being consolidated.

Ideological drives were also behind the establishment of the Popular Education Service,<sup>114</sup> which was initially established during the German occupation as a propaganda mechanism against the National Liberation Front (EAM). This service's existence has continued until today following the different governmental policies of each era. Thus, during the Colonels' dictatorship,<sup>115</sup> popular education was used to promote the ideological perspectives of the regime, whilst succeeding governments tried to extricate it from this past (Karalis & Vergidis, 2004:179-180).

Educational activities during the Second World War and the subsequent civil war were also organised by EAM. During the wars these activities consisted of literacy and professional training for farmers. After the defeat of the left in the civil war, adult education continued to take place in areas of exile and prisons in the form of educational circles on subjects such as literacy, languages, political and professional training (Vergidis, 1992:119-110). Nevertheless, not many things are known in relation to these learning initiatives, as it is very difficult to find evidence and objective information on most issues related to the civil war. This means, though, that despite radical adult education having taken place in Greece, it has not had a continued history that would establish a tradition.

Apart from the state input into adult education, the 1950s saw the emergence of both commercial and non-profit making associations catering for the education of adults. Again the focus was on basic education and training. Despite their claim to independence (Waller, 1966:11-12), these non-profit associations were largely part of the establishment. Thus, the most prevalent association in the 1950s and 1960s was the Royal National Foundation, which was only one of several educational societies founded by the royal family. In addition, the appearance of private training organizations increased as a result of the changing economy and the resulting demand for vocational education, which was intensified by the large-scale migration of rural inhabitants from the provinces to the urban centres (Karalis & Vergidis, 2004:179-180).

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<sup>114</sup> The term 'popular education' or '*laiki epimorfosi*' (λαϊκή επιμόρφωση) in Greece does not have the ideological connotations it has in English. Instead, it has been used in a populist manner by both right wing and left-of-centre governments in order to promote their own political agendas.

<sup>115</sup> 1967-1974

From the above one may see a consistent, albeit top-down, practice of adult education. Nevertheless, the reality of it has been occasional, uncoordinated and unsystematic. Few people were touched by these initiatives and in most cases this was through short courses of literacy or vocational training. It was Greece's accession to the EEC in 1981 that really stimulated the development of adult education. As a poorer region within Europe, Greece received significant funding through the ESF for the expansion of the adult education sector. The Popular Education Service was upgraded to a General Secretariat of the Ministry of Education and between the years 1981 and 1988 over a million and a half participants attended one of its shorter or longer courses. At the same time, many public organizations, such as the Greek Centre of Productivity and the Manpower Employment Organization, set up vocational training classes throughout Greece (ibid).

The educational programmes that were developed in these years were, however, largely unsuccessful as they were designed purely on the basis of absorbing the ESF funds. Not only were many of them of poor quality, but several programmes were not even completed (Argiropoulos & Dimitrakis, n.d.). As a consequence, the EU required quality assurances and compliance with regulations, which positively affected the delivery of courses. However, due to a concurrent change in ESF objectives, only certain aspects of adult education are now being promoted (Karalis & Vergidis, 2004:180-181). As a consequence, the financial incentives of the EU have generated an improvement both quantitatively and qualitatively in adult education in Greece, yet this adult education is mostly restricted to vocational training.

In conclusion, the history of adult education in Greece shows a concentration on basic education and vocational training. There was no university participation and no seeking of knowledge for knowledge's sake. Radical initiatives did appear and they are still alive to a minor degree, yet they were always marginal and their history has been largely undocumented, if not erased. Although some political movements used adult education as a means for the achievement of their aims, the civil society did not generate any major adult education movements *per se*. Overall, the concept of adult education has been hijacked by perceptions of vocational training and, when the state has been involved, it has done so for gaining support for each era's regime, as well as for nation building. Finally, adult education is viewed as a means for widening participation for those adults who did not have the opportunity to complete their generic or vocational education at a younger age. Thus, it has not developed or



employed any innovative approaches that would differentiate adult education from traditional formal education.

## 5.3 Conclusions

One notices the similar adult education policy direction shared by Scotland and Greece based, however, on a very different historical tradition in the field. Thus, despite the Scottish Executive's functionalist rationale behind the current lifelong learning strategy, the agenda needs to accommodate other perceptions of adult education by including references to personal fulfilment and active citizenship. Although these references are made mostly to diverge from the economic nature of the current policy, their very existence indicates educators' and the public's wider recognition of liberal and social purpose adult education.

In contradistinction, Greece does not have a tradition of adult education that perceives education as an end in itself. Instead, adult education in Greece is susceptible to serving political interests. Moreover, adult education in Greece tends to be imposed from the top, functioning as a means of propaganda for each era's political elite. In particular, social cohesion and the assimilation of ethnically or culturally different populations has been a pivotal drive for the initial participation of the state in adult education, a past which cannot be ignored when looking into migrants' education. These developments have a strong impact on the current situation of adult education and, in the following chapters, it will be shown how they influence the actual provision and practice of second language adult education.



# CHAPTER 6 – METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Having established the context of the study, this chapter considers the rationale behind the chosen methodology and describes the process through which the research was conducted in order to:

- explore ways through which second language educators can encourage their students to become more socially participative and thus to develop as confident social actors
- investigate how educational and socio-cultural traditions influence the socio-political outcomes of the educational experience

The above aims were then interpreted into the following research questions:

- Were students of second language adult education classes becoming more socially participative as a result of their educational experience?
- If so, in which way? Was it participation of a conventional or of an interventionist form?
- If they were becoming more participative, how had their tutors contributed towards that?
- Did the educational tradition influence whether tutors endorsed social involvement?
- Did the socio-political culture influence whether tutors endorsed social involvement?
- In the cases that tutors endorsed social involvement, did the educational and socio-cultural traditions impact on the ways through which they endorsed participation?
- Did the educational and socio-cultural traditions influence the degree and type of social participation that developed through the educational experience?

## **6.1 Methodological Considerations**

### ***6.1.1 Comparative Research in Adult Education***

Drawing from adult education practice and experience in Glasgow and Athens, this research falls into the category of comparative adult education. The scope of comparison within the field is wide and can focus simply on geographical areas or on both geography and phenomena (Titmus, 1999:37), as is the case in this study, which compares both between Glasgow and Athens and among the different types of adult education organizations. Comparative adult education does not refer to a mere juxtaposition of descriptive facts (Lore, 2001:103; Knoll, 1999:22-23; Titmus, 1999:36-37), but to a comparison that goes further and deeper into an analytical one. In this way, comparative adult education ‘attempts to understand the why and wherefore of the similarities and differences in terms of the social, cultural, economic and political forces operating upon the phenomena’ (Titmus, 1999:37). Accordingly, comparative educational research’s value lies in attempting to understand the factors behind the similarities and the differences, as well as, their significance for adult education in the respective settings (Reischmann, 1999:12-13).

Nonetheless, the aims of comparative adult education are wider than the above objectives. Early in the development of comparative adult education, Kidd formulated the wider common goals of the field, of which ‘satisfy[ing] an interest in how human beings live and learn’, ‘understand[ing] oneself better’ and ‘reveal[ing] how one’s own biases and personal attributes affect one’s judgement about possible ways of carrying out transactions’ (in Lore, 2001:104) are of particular interest in this study. Moreover, of great relevance is Jarvis’ expansion of the above aims (2000:353-354). Locating contemporary comparative education within the context of globalisation, he adds to comparative adult education’s objectives the lifting of communication barriers between different cultures, the use of education in community development and the nurturing of critically aware and active citizens.

Like other aspects of educational research, comparative adult education has been widely affected by the epistemological debates and paradigm shifts that have been taking place in social sciences research. As a result, interpretive studies of educational phenomena have challenged positivist assumptions begetting a turn away from studying established educational systems (King, 2000:268), to the exploration of more intangible and contextual factors affecting education on the micro-level (Crossley, 2000:322-326,329). This epistemological shift is perceived as having liberated



comparative adult education from its earlier boundaries (Lore, 2001:105). Nonetheless, some forms of this epistemological shift, that is the more postmodernist approaches to knowledge, are also seen as threatening the very existence of comparative education since their adherence to relativism makes comparison a redundant concept (Epstein & Carroll, 2005; Lore, 2001:106). In other words, if all kinds of knowledge are perceived to be relative to their context and equally worthy, comparison loses all substance. The current study's focus on the practice and the experience of students and tutors in small-scale educational settings, although strongly opposing the relativistic perspective, clearly reflects the interpretive approach to research. This approach has in its turn implications for issues of objectivity and the aims and expectations of the research, which need to be further clarified as part of the espoused theoretical framework.

### 6.1.2 Educational Research for Social Justice

The interest in migrants and in the way their educational experience can contribute towards their socio-political involvement – and therefore towards further democratisation – reflects the epistemological framework of the research. First of all, such a study could not produce any informative findings unless it undertook research of a qualitative nature. This type of research is appropriate due to its more holistic approach. It is also more sensitive to the understanding of social relations and contexts, and is open to different perspectives. Furthermore, qualitative research is more equipped to do justice to the subjects of the study, as participants' knowledge and practices are seen as key to exploring the issues. However, the researcher's values and communication with the field and participants *also* contribute to the formulation of the research process and its findings (Flick, 1998:2-8).<sup>116</sup>

The methodology of qualitative research originates in the eighteenth century's epistemological challenge to the traditional positivist view of perception as observation (Hamilton, 1998:116-118). Nonetheless, its use is still contested by positivists for being problematic in relation to objectivity, validity, reliability and therefore, generalisability. Indeed, there are different opinions even among those conducting qualitative studies in relation to the application of the above concepts in research (Silverman, 2000:102-103), ranging from the acceptance of all (e.g. Miles & Huberman, 1994:277-280; Peräkylä, 1997), to their complete rejection (e.g. Griffiths, 1998:50-54,82).

There are several aspects affecting positions and choices in educational research. Apart from epistemological views on the nature and accumulation of knowledge, these include the purposes of the inquiry. Although aware of the constraints and difficulties, this particular study's aims concur with critical theory's commitment to 'the critique and transformation of the social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind, by engagement in confrontation, even conflict' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:210-211). Horkheimer, drawing from Marx (1978b), identifies the aims of critical theory as more than an increase of knowledge as such, but as human emancipation (in Williams & May, 1996:121). In this way, although research cannot bring about social change by itself, it can provide a context for transformation by confronting structural social divisions (Ball, 1992:1).

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<sup>116</sup> As this is discussed in Chapter 1.3 and will be further analysed in the concluding chapter.



Critical theory educational research sometimes relies on exposing the dominant ideology in institutions (e.g. Harvey, 1990), leading to a deterministic view of education as merely reproducing hegemonic ideas. However, and without reverting to a romantic or naïve understanding of social transformation, adult education is seen here as a social space with both potential and constraints, which can be used either for domestication or as a site of resistance (Ball, 1992:2-4; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998:262). It is imperative that critical social research in education is not committed to a particular social group in a sentimental manner, but to the wider principles of democracy and social justice (Griffiths, 1998:2). Accordingly, although criticism and empowerment are key elements of this research, its main aim is not to expose migrants' oppression or concentrate on empowering them *per se*, but to find ways of endorsing their socio-political involvement as a means for the democratisation of the wider society. In other words, it is a study that aspires to generate knowledge that can have practical implications for the social reality of the host communities as well as that of migrants.

Whereas traditional social and educational research is based on claims of neutrality, critical researchers' partisanship is openly proclaimed. This is an effect of critical theory's central assumptions that all thought is mediated by socially and historically constituted social relations, and that facts cannot be isolated from ideology and values (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998:263). Critical epistemology contends that the researcher and the object of research are linked through the mediation of the researcher's values and assumptions, which inevitably influence the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1998:206). Furthermore, the impact of ideology and values on facts does not depend solely on the researcher, but is also conditioned by the way data is theoretically framed (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998:273).

Contesting the traditional perception that for research to be acceptable it needs to be value-free, Williams and May (1996:124,130) differentiate between neutrality and objectivity, arguing that the possibility of objectivity does not depend on the isolation of values. To the contrary, the glorification of value-freedom is a value in itself. In contradistinction, critical social researchers, by making their values explicit and open to scrutiny both to themselves and others, can generate findings that are more sincere



and open to alternative knowledges.<sup>117</sup> Nonetheless, the inadequacies of the positivist approach to values and objectivity do not entail the complete rejection of concepts such as validity and generalisability, but suggest the need for their reconsideration.

A rather positivistic approach to research defines validity as the ‘degree to which evidence supports any inferences a researcher makes based on the data he or she collects using a particular instrument’. The validity of any research therefore ‘depends on the amount and type of evidence that support interpretation’ (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000:169-170). An alternative view that does not restrict itself to acceptable or unacceptable methods of approaching data is the understanding of validity as ‘the degree that a method investigates what is intended to investigate’ (Kvale, 1996:238). Since valid knowledge, from a critical theory point of view, depends on its practical implications, research conducted within this framework adopts the concept of pragmatic validation. Accordingly, the validity of social and educational research rests predominantly on the effectiveness of the ensuing action (ibid:235-239,248-251). As this study takes place within an academic context, immediate implementation of the findings is not possible. However, the aim is to produce practical – in the widest sense – suggestions that will be disseminated to the participating and other interested organizations.

The findings of value-laden research might not be generalisable in the way required in normative research, but can provide ‘modest speculations on the likely applicability of findings to other situations under similar but not identical, conditions’ (Williams & May, 1996:142). These extrapolations can be indeed logical, thoughtful and investigative, in contrast to more factual but also probabilistic normative generalisations (ibid:142). Furthermore, rather than restricting inferences to establishing the archetypes for what already exists, value-laden studies can seek to uncover possibilities and potential situations and phenomena (Kvale, 1996: 234-235). Accordingly, this small-scale but in depth qualitative study aims to provide an insight into adult education’s impact on migrants’ socio-political involvement, rather than to dictate authoritative generalisable conclusions.

From that follows that the traditional positivist research claim to objectivity and generalisation often unwittingly reproduces existing systems of oppression. To

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<sup>117</sup> Accordingly, at the concluding chapter, the author of this thesis will discuss her own values and personal characteristics and how these have influenced the conduct and analysis of the research.



preclude this, critical social and educational research endeavours to create knowledge that is historically and structurally situated and which has the capacity to generate praxis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:187). In particular, really useful knowledge, that is central to radical adult education, depends on the acknowledgement of the relationship between power and knowledge, and is based on an ideologically explicit construction of knowledge that can attribute power to different voices and positions in society. Hence, the value of a study in critical research does not lie in the formal criteria of truth, but in its connection with the tasks of contemporaneous progressive social forces (Horkheimer in Williams & May, 1996:121).

Critical social and educational research's explicitness about values, as well as its commitment to democracy and social justice, does not reduce it to a political creed. Critical research is a methodology, but one informed by a structural and dialectical view of society. Critical methodology does not boast a particular method of data collection or analysis. On the contrary, it embraces a distinctive approach to data and a unique framework within which data is analysed (Harvey, 1990:19,196). Acknowledging the power embedded in social structures and relationships, critical methodology embarks on an inquiry of a transactional nature, involving a dialogue between the investigator and the objects of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1998:206-210). With these principles in consideration, this study listens to and explores the voices of both students and tutors of second language adult education settings.

## **6.2 The Research Process**

### ***6.2.1 Method: Interviewing Tutors and Students***

The method followed in this study was that of semi-structured interviews with students and tutors in four diverse types of second language adult education classes in Glasgow and Athens respectively. Forty interviews were conducted in total – twenty-four with migrant students and sixteen with second language tutors. The choice of semi-structured interviewing as a research method was influenced by the nature of the study. Interviewing in research can serve descriptive, exploratory and explanatory purposes. Neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire, the semi-structured interview can provide access to participants' knowledge, beliefs, values and attitudes, while at the same time it can maintain a fairly clear focus of the subject under research (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 32-33; Bryman, 2004:323; Fielding & Thomas, 2001, 126; Keats, 2000:72). As already discussed, the aim of this study is to offer an insight into migrants' involvement and how this is influenced by their educational experience. Therefore, semi-structured interviews with both students and tutors give access to the mental world (McCracken, 1998:9) of those partaking and contributing to second language adult education settings.

Using semi-structured interviews is thus a means of getting an insight into the participants' understanding of the world and the content and pattern of their daily experience. Therefore, in this case, interviews are used with the aim of discovering what migrant students and their tutors think, and to explore the reasons behind their opinions and underlying attitudes. The emphasis is not only on what the interviewees say, but also on how what is said is framed and understood by the participants themselves. Moreover, the interviewees' points of view are granted the 'culturally honoured status of reality' (Miller & Glassner, 1997:100), whether or not they comply with dominant ideas and sentiments. In this way, semi-structured interviews can offer an opportunity for alternative opinions and positions to be heard, an objective that is also consistent with the values of radical adult education.

Having rejected the possibility and desirability of value-free educational research, interviews, rather than being treated as a neutral transmission of data or as a source of distortion, are seen in this study as a site of – and occasion for – generating knowledge (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997:113-114). In addition to replying to the questions raised by the interviewer, the interviewees also formulate their own conceptions of the subject, as well as generate new issues for investigation through the interaction of the dialogue.



Thus, the encounter between interviewer and participants allows both sides to explore the meaning of the issues raised and to analyse further the answers given to them (Arkshey & Knight, 1999:32; Kvale, 1996:11).

The nature of the participants' situation has also influenced the selection of semi-structured interviews as the employed research method. Although interviewing can provide a deep understanding of the participants' views, feelings and situations, it is a relatively unobtrusive research method, which is of great importance in our case where a large segment of the interviewees are migrants. The possibly threatening nature of the subject and the sensitive position of migrant participants made the utilization of interviews preferable to more formal research methods (Keats, 2000:72-73). In addition, the proximity of semi-structured interviews to the familiar dialogue of everyday life makes it easier, not only for migrants-students, but also for their tutors to discuss emerging issues in a more frank and explicit manner.

Semi-structured interviews are, moreover, particularly appropriate for research which involves the discussion of complex ideas and especially when the interviewees might have communicative difficulties (ibid) – as is our case. The structure of interviewing allows for a considerate degree of flexibility both in expressing and in understanding ideas (Arkshey & Knight, 1999:7,32; Bryman, 2004:321,332). The combination of open ended and specific questions, the probing of responses and the opportunity for clarification enable the communication of non-fluent participants and encourage all interviewees to elaborate on their answers. Furthermore, being attentive to what the interviewee is saying, but also to their body language and to what they are not saying is another valuable means of communication possible in interviewing (ibid:327,329).

## **6.2.2 Interview Themes and Interviewing**

### **6.2.2.1 Tutor Interviewees**

Based on the research questions and the issues raised by the relevant literature, two interview schedules were constructed – one for tutors and one for students. The tutors’ interview schedule (appendices 9,10) was divided into four sections. Starting with introductory information on the number of classes taught, the number of students, and the hours and timing of tuition, this first part of the interview concentrated on the composition of the classes in relation to gender, age, educational and linguistic background. The aim of this section was to determine the type of students, since this would influence needs, motivation, expectations and openness, as well as the classes’ capability to constitute a social group and – referring back to the framework set in Chapter Two<sup>118</sup> – to learn to work together.

Following that, the interview turned to issues relating to the teaching itself and mostly to issues of content. This part of the interview looked into the imagination and effort put by the tutor into their work, as well as the freedom and flexibility to do so. It included questions on constraints imposed on the tutor, the input of students, the restriction of the curriculum in language teaching and the perceived value of any possible expansion of the curriculum and/or class activities. Moreover, there were questions on the use of particular textbooks, who they were chosen by, whether they were specifically created for adult students in second – rather than foreign – language settings and whether any other secondary materials were employed. The aims of this section were to assess the extent to which the class was critically exploring social ideas, realities and values, whether the topic of politics and rights entered the classroom and to what level students were developing a voice through the educational experience.

More explicitly in relation to social involvement, tutors were asked if any extra-curricular activities were taking place and, if so, what their purpose was and who they were organised by. Furthermore, there were questions on whether tutors considered the encouragement of socio-political involvement – in its widest sense – as part of their role, and if so, in what ways they sought to achieve it. Along these lines, the interviews explored the social aspect of the classes, both in terms of what actually took

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<sup>118</sup> Table 2.1.2



place and the value ascribed to it, as well as the ideas tutors held on formality, roles and relationships within the class.

The following theme of the interview referred to the reasons and motivations behind choosing this particular kind of job and how tutors saw it relating to their role as members of society. This was linked to enquiries on the route through which they arrived at this occupation, on previous/other work experience in related fields, and on how this experience affected the way in which they perceive and do their job. Finally, gauging the political interest of the tutors, as well as their awareness about adult education and migration issues, the interviews finished with tutors' comments on the effects of migration and adult education policy on their work. The aims of this part of the interview were thus the exploration of whether second language adult educators perceived the endorsement of active citizenship as an element of their work and how aware they were of citizenship issues entering their classroom.

#### **6.2.2.2 Student Interviewees**

The interview schedule for the student-participants (appendices 11,12) contained more questions which were, however, less open-ended in order to facilitate communication. After completing 'fact sheet' information, the interviewees were asked about the length of time they had spent in the country, and more specifically the period they had lived in Glasgow or Athens. Moreover, they were asked about contacts they had in the country before arriving, the existence of an established community and whether they came together with other members of family or friends, as all these are aspects which might affect settling and participation in the host community.

To investigate interviewees' interest and perception of social involvement, they were asked questions that were both directly and indirectly related to active citizenship. The latter included questions on the students' everyday activities and interest in current affairs, whilst the direct questions – using a broad definition of social involvement as any group activity outside work and family – aimed to generate a detailed account of socio-political engagement in which interviewees had taken part – either in their current country of residence or in the country of origin. In the case that interviewees claimed not to have participated in any such activities, their reasons for not doing so were probed.

The following section of the interviews concentrated on educational information. It looked into the educational level of the interviewees, any other experience in post-compulsory education, and the motivation behind and/or barriers to such engagement. Learning to work together was the focus of the next section. Looking into social capital and collaborative learning, it investigated the composition of the class, whether any languages were shared by the students and – in cases where the tutor was unable to do so – whether students took up the role of helping one another using these shared languages. Furthermore, apart from explicit questions on their relationship with their classmates and tutor, interviewees were asked if they maintained any contact with one another outside class hours. If so, the form of contact, who it was organised by, and whether they would be keen for more such activities was examined. In this manner, was explored the ability of the class to get people working together and the way in which this could be achieved.

In relation to the curriculum content, students were asked which subjects were discussed and if there were any topics excluded from the classroom. Interviewees were prompted to talk about whether administrative information, cultural issues and social realities affecting their lives were included in classroom discussions, and if these discussions were perceived as constituting an element of the course. From these questions it was intended to see whether students were given the chance to speak in the classroom about topics that would encourage them in getting critically informed.

The final section of the interviews dealt with the effects of the second language class on the participants' social life. Starting from their initial motivations and expectations behind starting the course, interviewees were asked to discuss any changes they might have noticed in the way they felt about themselves, on the way they were able to tackle daily challenges and in getting more of a voice. Looking into how classes might be fostering collective identities, student interviewees were also asked about any changes in their understanding of, and interest in, the host community, as well as the impact the course might have made on the way they saw their future. In the cases that changes were observed, the aspects of the second language class that had most contributed towards them were further explored. Lastly, the interviews finished with any suggestions the participants believed could improve the effects of their educational experience.



## 6.3 Analytic Approach

The data collected through the semi-structured interviews is more than just facts or records. It is rather ‘meaningful relations to be interpreted’ (Kvale, 1996:11). The method of interpretation in this case was ‘*ad hoc* meaning generation’ (ibid:203-204), in other words a combined utilisation of varied analytic techniques. First, all interviews were listened to, or in the case of non-recorded ones the notes taken were read, to offer an overall impression. Following that, there was a process of data condensation through coding. Codes were created before the analysis of the data, however, and because of the limitations in coding fieldnotes (Silverman, 2000:147), they were rather general and thematic. Furthermore, to avoid restricting the material into a pre-existing classification, the possibility for post-coding was left open.

After coding, interpretation of the findings through sorting and shifting the data to identify and explore relationships between variables was undertaken in order to note patterns and themes – not the recurrence of specific words – and to build a logical chain of evidence (Arksey & Knight, 1999:163-164,169; Miles & Huberman, 1994:9-12,245-262). Data was analysed both cross-case and cross-variable. The findings were put in four Excel sheets, one for the tutors in Glasgow, one for those in Athens and two for their respective students. The first row of each sheet had the different thematic codes and the first column had the participants’ coded-names grouped according to their organizations. Each interviewee’s relevant responses were then added underneath each theme and further notes were made wherever required.

These four Excel sheets constituted a comprehensive basis for further interpretation. Thus a comparison was possible both between the responses of students and tutors of the same organizations, among the different types of organizations within each country, between the educational experience in the two cities in general and finally between the equivalent types of organization across the two cities. Moreover, to ensure the trustworthiness of the interviews, particular attention was paid to the relationship of the responses between tutors and students of the same organization, looking especially into questions/themes included both in the students’ and the tutors’ interview guides.

## 6.4 Limitations

There are several limitations imposed on this study, particularly in relation to interviewing the student-participants. Some of these limitations – but not all – had been anticipated. First of all, the communicative difficulties when interviewing the student-participants were important. However, concentration on students whose host community's language skills were more expanded, apart from excluding the experiences of those who are still in the process of learning the majority language, would not be appropriate for this study. This is because the advanced students would most possibly have an already developed social life, exerting a strong – but difficult to identify – influence on their learning.<sup>119</sup> Obviously, this is a factor for all student interviewees, but believed not to be as important with those whose language learning was at its beginning or middle.

Different methods were employed in order to overcome language barriers. English (in Athens) and French (in Glasgow) were used as *lingue franche* in several occasions, whilst two interviewees invited people who were close to them to act as interpreters. On two other occasions the employment of an interpreter was deemed necessary. This was with participants whose legal status and ethnic background would not raise ethical concerns for the use of interpreters.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, skills gained through having worked for some years in tutoring languages and interviewing non-native speakers for different projects were helpful in dealing with communication problems.

Another limitation anticipated was the impact of the student interviewees' feelings of insecurity due to legal irregularities. Building trust and assuring confidentiality and anonymity can very much overcome the impact of this factor. Nonetheless, it was unavoidable that some interviewees would be more wary than others, which might influence their answers without the interviewer being necessarily aware of it. A lack of concrete knowledge of the student-participants' cultural background could further restrict the access to interviewees' ways of thinking despite the interviewer's efforts to be presupposition-less and open to diverse ideas.

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<sup>119</sup> Some of the interviewees were indeed advanced students but, as they were in intermediate courses, their interviews were closely compared to those of their less articulating classmates.

<sup>120</sup> Their tutor had also been informed of that choice and had agreed to it.



The widely discussed interviewer effect is another issue possibly affecting the validity of the research. The interviewer can implicitly influence the findings in two ways. First, the social characteristics of the interviewer might elicit answers that the participants deem 'correct' or expected. Class, gender, ethnic background and assumed affiliations of the interviewer might thus elude false reactions. Lee (1999:99-101) reviews relevant literature and research concluding that minoritised groups do not report to majority member interviewers as openly as they do to people from groups that they can associate themselves to. Similar effects are recorded when men are interviewing women, whereas when women interview men, analogous reactions have been recorded only in particular subjects of a personally sensitive nature.

Therefore, it is believed that in this research, although the social class of the interviewer might have influenced the responses of the student interviewees, her gender and living in a foreign country herself helped in the participants being more open and sincere in their responses. Tutor interviewees, however, might also be affected, offering answers according to what they think they should be feeling or doing, rather than according to what they are actually feeling or doing. The second aspect of the interviewer's effect derives from the expectations of the researcher. The interviewees' responses are mediated through the mind and the words of the interviewer. Therefore, the framework of our implicit concepts and pre-existing research questions, as well as the coding and analysis, inevitably shape the interpretation of participants' initial responses (Lee, 1999:101; Miles & Huberman, 1994:9).

Finally, a limitation that had not been anticipated was the large number of participants – especially students – not wanting to be tape-recorded. Concerns of anonymity – particularly for those without full legal rights – and, most importantly, embarrassment in relation to one's linguistic capacity in a second language, constrained many interviewees from consenting to be tape-recorded. In these cases detailed notes were taken and at the end of the interview read back to the interviewees. Yet, it is very possible that data was also lost.

# CHAPTER 7 – SECOND LANGUAGE PROVISION

As explained in Chapter One, eight second language providers participated in the study. This chapter describes the settings of the classes and gives some information about the interviewees who took part in the research.

## 7.1 Organizations

As the aim of the study consists of exploring diverse educational practices that encourage social involvement, as well as the influences of different socio-cultural and educational traditions on second language adult education's impact on students' participation, comparison was not only made across national borders but also within them. Four different types of educational organizations were thus selected in Glasgow and four approximate equivalents in Athens, reflecting a wide spectrum of educational settings. In this way, consideration was given not only to the social and educational traditions of the two cities, but also to the beliefs and practices of different types of educational institutions. Accordingly, the organizations chosen for the study include a class in a further education college;<sup>121</sup> a class offered within a minoritised ethnic community; a class run by a charity organization; and a class in an organization campaigning for migrants' issues in each city respectively.

The rationale behind selecting these organizations was that they represent the distinct approaches of (i) the state, (ii) migrants' associations, (iii) NGOs and (iv) campaign organizations. It was hypothesised that each type would lean more towards a particular theoretical perspective – that the further education class would be more influenced by the functionalist approach, the campaign organisation would gravitate towards the radical perspective and the other two would be closer to the liberal one. It was anticipated that each organisational type's educational approach would involve distinct aims and employ diverse methods and curriculum.

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<sup>121</sup> In the Greek educational system, there is no direct correspondence to further education colleges. It is the Centres for Vocational Education (KEK) that play the equivalent role and serve similar aims (Kokkos, 2005:42). In this study all the above will be referred to as further education.



Table 7.1 Second Language Organizations in Glasgow and Athens

| Organization                | Further Education | Community Centre | Charity Organization | Campaign Organization |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Public                      | X                 |                  |                      |                       |
| Voluntary                   |                   | X                | X                    | X                     |
| Tutors                      |                   |                  |                      |                       |
| Professionals               | X                 | X                |                      |                       |
| Volunteers                  |                   |                  | X                    | X                     |
| Nature of Interaction       |                   |                  |                      |                       |
| Formal setting              | X                 | X                |                      |                       |
| Informal setting            |                   |                  | X                    | X                     |
| Length of course            | Academic year     | Academic year    | No                   | No                    |
| Drop-in sessions            |                   |                  |                      | X                     |
| Mixed ethnic background     | X                 |                  | X                    | X                     |
| Single ethnic background    |                   | X                |                      |                       |
| Accredited course           | X                 |                  |                      |                       |
| Non-accredited course       |                   | X                | X                    | X                     |
| Only language tuition       |                   | In Athens        | In Glasgow           |                       |
| Extra-curricular activities | X                 | In Glasgow       | In Athens            | X                     |

The organizations in the two cities had to be as similar as possible, whilst the four types had to be significantly diverse. Accordingly, in both cities, the further education courses were the only classes within a formal institution, following a prescribed curriculum and preparing students for the respective national language



qualifications.<sup>122</sup> The community classes were the only ones where students – and tutors – had the same ethnic background, and the curriculum was taught through the medium of the native tongue. Furthermore, whilst the tutors in the further education and community classes were professionals, those teaching in the charity and the campaign organizations were employed on a voluntary basis. Yet, despite these similarities between the charity and campaign organization classes, the wider aims of the latter were more political and interventionist than those of the first. At this point, it needs to be mentioned that all the organizations chosen for the study were required to offer migrants their tuition free of charge, so that they would be accessible to the targeted group, whose financial means prohibit attending fee-paying courses.

The process of identifying the organizations that were to be used in the study was different in Glasgow and Athens, reflecting the different social structures in the two cities. The Advice Centre of Learn Direct Scotland, the Glasgow City Council Learning Services and the ESOL Forum provided a comprehensive and inclusive account of such provision. The above services also gave access to the details of the organizations into consideration. These details were then used to contact a tutor or administrative member from the chosen organizations. Following a formal letter describing the study and inviting organizations to take part (appendix 4), the tutors were given an information leaflet (appendix 2) and the chance to discuss any of their concerns in relation to the study before agreeing to take part and offer access to their students.

Access to the organizations in Athens was more difficult because of the absence of an organisation serving as a publicly accessible database of educational provision, like Learn Direct Scotland or the ESOL Forum. Finding out which further education centres provide language classes was particularly difficult. After long and unsuccessful efforts, a contact in the Ministry of Labour, under whose auspices second language classes and qualifications are offered, provided a list and contact details of these centres. The same person also referred me to tutors whom she knew personally and suggested using her name in order to enable access. Indeed, one of these tutors accepted to help and also took the initiative to overcome bureaucratic barriers that would otherwise have rendered interviewing impossible.

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<sup>122</sup> Scottish Qualification Authority Modules (Scotland); *Mathimata Ellinomathias* (Μαθήματα Ελληνομάθειας) (Greece).



In trying to find minoritised ethnic community-based classes in Athens, several migrants suggested referring to locally printed community newspapers. Through such papers a number of private language centres were found, but, apart from not being appropriate to the research due to fee-charging, they were suspicious and unwilling to offer any further information. Directions from migrants finally led to a neighbourhood with a long established minoritised group presence, where a community centre that offered second language classes was found. Unlike the organizations above, the charity and the campaign organizations were easier to locate, but again in the case of the charity organization, using the name of a contact facilitated access.

Because of the circumstances of the first contact, but also because of its unsuitability from a cultural point of view, there was no formal letter sent to invite tutors to participate in the study, as had been done in Glasgow.<sup>123</sup> Instead, together with the information leaflet, a paper based on previous experience of teaching English to asylum seekers in Glasgow was given to them for their information and to provide credibility on my part (appendix 6). These different processes of identifying and accessing second language organizations in Glasgow and Athens are not of small importance as they indicate problems that might be faced, not only by other researchers in the field, but also by migrants themselves in their effort to find an appropriate course.

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<sup>123</sup> In the first stages of identifying organizations, letters were sent to some tutors and administrative staff in Athens, but there was not a single reply (appendix 5).

### **7.1.1. Glasgow**

#### **7.1.1.1 Further Education – Glasgow College**

The most typical ESOL provider in Scotland is the further education college (Rice *et al*, 2005:iii). The further education ESOL classes used in this study were set in a college that targets overseas, European Union and ethnic minoritised students, yet – as is the case in most college ESOL classes in Glasgow – the majority of the student population are asylum seekers and refugees. Tuition fees for those on benefits, which includes the majority of the students, are funded by the Scottish Executive. The classes take place in the main campus, which is easily accessible by transport. Nonetheless, the ESOL unit is slightly further from other departments, separating ESOL students from the rest of the student population. Free childcare is available, but it caters mostly for children between the ages of two and five, thus excluding mothers of younger children.

The course is offered at eight different levels, providing learners from the Pre-Basic to the Advanced level. It is run by qualified professional tutors and, apart from the general option, it also offers specialised vocational ESOL course directions.<sup>124</sup> General ESOL classes run in three 12-week blocks from August to mid-June and they can be attended on a part-time or full-time basis. The courses used in this study were the full-time pre-intermediate and intermediate ones, which take place during the day and are taught in two and a half hourly sessions, five days a week.<sup>125</sup> The number of people in the class ranges between twelve and eighteen, and students are prepared to sit Scottish Qualification Authority (SQA) ESOL National Qualifications units, but also the more internationally acknowledged IELTS and Cambridge certificates.

#### **7.1.1.2 Community Organization – Chinese Family Centre**

For this category, it was important to select a minoritised ethnic group that has a substantial number of members in Glasgow, which is close-knit and which has been established in the city for a significant amount of time. The participating organization

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<sup>124</sup> As we saw in Chapter 5.1.1, basic education in Scotland – including ESOL – is underpinned by perceptions of employability (Gerver, 1992:399).

<sup>125</sup> This choice was made, again, for the purpose of correspondence to the further education centre under study in Athens.



targets marginalized Chinese families – whatever the cause of their isolation.<sup>126</sup> The wider aim of the organization is to provide locally based ethically sensitive services for Chinese families, trying to redress inequalities in all aspects of their lives. The centre uses an integrated family support model, part of which is the English classes. Other services offered to users are Mandarin classes, a drop-in advice centre, an advocacy service, individual support – either in the form of counselling or as casework, children's group-work, a parenting support group, a Chinese carers' forum and a one-stop health clinic.

The class is made up of a variety of people, predominantly Cantonese, but also Mandarin speakers;<sup>127</sup> economic migrants and asylum seekers; wives of postgraduate students; and retired women. The centre is located in a multicultural area of Glasgow, which has a large proportion of Chinese people. The premises are easily accessible, but childcare is no longer provided during class-hours given that there has been limited demand and resources. The class runs for the duration of an academic year and is offered by professional qualified bilingual tutors. The level of the class is elementary<sup>128</sup> and it meets for two-hour sessions twice a week in the mornings. Despite much greater demand, but due to lack of space, the class has a total of fifteen students. The students have the option to sit exams in order to obtain external qualifications. The tutors who teach the class, though, have not encouraged this option.

#### **7.1.1.3 Charity Organisation – Refugees' Learning Centre**

In contradistinction to the above cases, the charity organization class takes place in an informal setting and is run by a volunteer tutor. The class is organised under the auspices of a charity NGO. However, there is not much contact between the tutor and the organization, partly due to their different location, but also as a result of the independent character of the tutor. The class is held in a room of a church in an area with a small migrant population, but which is easily accessible by public transport. Childcare provision is offered, but as it is not primarily aimed at the students of the class, it is not available on all days and when it is, it only covers three quarters of the

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<sup>126</sup> Such as race, language, culture, disability, gender, sexual orientation or poverty.

<sup>127</sup> The different linguistic background did not divide the student group whose members perceived themselves as being part of the same community.

<sup>128</sup> Interviews were conducted with the help of an interpreter.

duration of the class. The course does not itself offer any other services apart from language tuition, but students are referred to the charity NGO for advice, information and assistance on a wide variety of issues.<sup>129</sup>

Although the targeted group is asylum seekers and refugees in particular, migrants of all legal statuses are welcome to attend the class. This flexibility is made easier by the small number of students, who were only seven at the time of interviewing. The class takes place in the morning and it consists of three two-hour sessions per week. Term-times and holidays are set according to those of schools but, as the course is not designed around a set curriculum, there is no particular start or end date for it. Nevertheless, the class is not a drop-in session and consistent attendance is expected. The level is that of beginners<sup>130</sup> and the aim of the class is everyday communication, not the attainment of qualifications.

#### **7.1.1.4 Campaign Organization – Glasgow Connections**

The campaign organization classes were set up with the aim of improving the quality of life of asylum-seekers and refugees arriving and settling in Glasgow. English classes are part of the wider variety of services and activities of this organization, which also include campaigning for the repeal of legislation detrimental to the well-being and rights of refugees and asylum seekers; raising awareness of their needs and situation; providing advice, support and practical help; and backing the self-organization of refugee community groups. The classes are subsidized financially by the supporters of the campaign and in-kind<sup>131</sup> by local organizations.

As the targeted group is the most marginalized asylum seekers and refugees, the classes take the form of outreach provision and are located in areas where many asylum seekers have been dispersed. There are two locations where classes are taking place. Childcare is provided during the classes, but children are also allowed to be with their mothers in the classrooms, which makes the class particularly accessible to mothers with young children.

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<sup>129</sup> For example, on housing, welfare, education, employment, family reunion and women's issues.

<sup>130</sup> In two cases the interviews took place in French.

<sup>131</sup> In the form of accommodation.



The classes are two-hour evening ones and they take place once a week. Dropping in is quite common for most but a core of consistently attending students. As a result the number of students varies significantly, but is always restricted to fewer than ten persons per group. The classes are offered at elementary or intermediate levels by volunteer tutors, some of who have a background in education. As in the case of the charity organization, there is no preparation for sitting exams. However, students who might want to gain qualifications are encouraged to move on to further education college classes in order to do so. The interviews took place with students of different levels and in one case an interviewee asked her son to act as an interpreter.

## **7.1.2 Athens**

### **7.1.2.1 Further Education – Athens Vocational Centre**

The equivalent of further education colleges in Greece are the Centres for Vocational Education (KEK) (Kokkos, 2005:42). The centre that participated in the study is funded by the Greek government, the ESF and EQUAL, with the aim of developing skills for the registered unemployed.<sup>132</sup> The courses offered are a means of promoting national social policy and the approach followed is that of applied knowledge, aiming for the students to gain knowledge that is useful in a practical way. The centre's provision to migrants is restricted to language tuition and it does not offer childcare facilities.

The centre is in a residential area of inner Athens, which has a considerable migrant population. It is also easily accessible by public transport for people from other areas. Language courses are offered by professional tutors, who however are not qualified or experienced in adult education or second language teaching. Classes are offered at all levels; from elementary to advanced. The classes have a large number of students<sup>133</sup> and take place daily during school hours. Depending on the level, students might attend for twenty-five to thirty hours per week. At the end of each academic year, students are expected to sit for the official Greek language exams. Participation in these exams – regardless of the result – is a requirement in order for students to receive financial support.

### **7.1.2.2 Community Organization – Polish Cultural Centre**

The community chosen to be studied under this category was the Polish community, which is one of the most well-established in Athens.<sup>134</sup> Since the 1980s Polish migrants have created their own associations, schools and press. The centre that participated in

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<sup>132</sup> This implies that the migrants participating in these classes had a more secure legal status.

<sup>133</sup> Around twenty.

<sup>134</sup> The complexities of migration routes makes absolute equivalence between interviewees in Glasgow and Athens impossible. As a consequence, and given that the most important factor for choosing the minoritised ethnic organization in each city was the minority's long-term and firm establishment, the two communities have different backgrounds (Asian and European), which is bound to influence their responses. More details on this issue are given in Chapter 7.3.



the study is funded by the Polish government and by individual contributions. It offers a wide range of courses, such as music, languages and information technology to Polish migrants of all ages.

The building is located in an area with a strong Polish presence. There is one Greek class offered within the centre, which targets adult students and is taught by a professional bilingual tutor. The class takes place twice a week in the evenings but there are no childcare facilities during these two-hour sessions. The course curriculum is largely set in advance and it follows the academic year. However, as at the time of interviewing most students of the class were at beginners' level,<sup>135</sup> studying towards a certificate was not yet a concern of the tutor.

### **7.1.2.3 Charity Organisation – Integration**

These Greek language courses, aimed at economic migrants and refugees are funded by supporters of the organization among the public and are implemented in partnership with the local authorities and other NGOs. The goals of these classes are to represent a form of social involvement and active solidarity on behalf of the volunteers; to highlight the need to solve topical social problems; to bring people together; to encourage communication and co-operation; and to build networks of social support and mutual assistance. As a result of the wider aims of the course, the language classes are combined with a course on history and civilisation, as well as with social activities, such as visits to museums and archaeological sites, trips and fêtes. Moreover, due to demand, the organization also offers English language courses.

The classes take place in the evening, in a community building at the city centre, but there are no childcare facilities on offer. Although easily accessible and safe due to its centrality and the many people on the street, the location can be uninviting because many drug addicts being present in the area, including outside the centre's entrance. The volunteer tutors, who have no background in education, teach two sessions of two hours per week. The students, who are in classes of six to eight people, are either at a beginners' or at an intermediate level. Like the charity organization in Glasgow, there is no set curriculum, but students are expected to have a consistent attendance. The

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<sup>135</sup> Some interviews were conducted in English.

attainment of qualifications is not an objective of the course, but if students wish to do so, there is provision of extra classes for this purpose.

#### **7.1.2.4 Campaign Organization – Alliances Social Centre**

Like the Athens charity organization and the campaign organization in Glasgow, this organization is funded by its members and supporters, whilst some of its activities are implemented in partnership with local authorities and other NGOs. The aims of the organization are to act against racism and xenophobia; to offer practical support and solidarity to migrants; and to press the Greek government on migrants' legalisation. Apart from the classes, the activities of the organization involve legal advice and support, the operation of a social space for both migrants and Greeks, the holding of events and festivals with the aim of cultural exchange and participation in the wider movement for the support of migrants and refugees.

These classes are also located in the city centre, very near the charity organization class. As with all other Greek organizations, there is no childcare provision. All levels, from complete beginners to advanced, are catered for by volunteers, not all of whom are qualified. Classes vary from ten to twenty-five students, there is no set curriculum and the students do not study towards any qualifications. Tutors encourage their students to attend regularly the two-hour evening classes that take place weekly. However, as is the case in the campaign organization in Glasgow, students who drop in are equally welcome to attend. Student interviewees were of different levels and in one case an interviewee brought with them a friend to help with interpreting.



## 7.2 The Tutor Sample

Out of the forty interviews that took place for this study, sixteen were conducted with tutors. Although there was an effort to have a similar number of interviewees in both cities, the outcome was affected by the fact that some classes in Glasgow, had more than one tutor for the same student group. Moreover, numbers depended on tutors' availability and willingness to participate. Consequently, nine tutors were interviewed in Glasgow and seven in Athens. Despite the limited number of participants, the purpose of this study is to offer an insight into second language teaching and learning,<sup>136</sup> and therefore the experiences and opinions of these sixteen tutors can still make an important contribution.

Although details of tutors' experiences and practices will be analysed in the discussion of the findings, it is useful to provide at this point some initial picture of those offering language classes to migrants in the Glasgow and Athens organizations. Thus, women prevailed among the Scottish tutor sample, which only had two male representatives (ratio 7:2). In Athens, the number of women was larger than that of men, but only by one (ratio 4:3). The proportion between volunteer and paid tutors was in both settings almost even, but that reflects rather the variety of organizations in this study and the resulting overrepresentation of small organizations at the expense of further education ones.

With the exception of the two Glasgow College tutors,<sup>137</sup> who had two and four groups respectively, all of the tutors were only teaching one group at the time of the interviews. Moreover, several tutors in Glasgow shared the teaching of their group. This was the case for both the Glasgow College and the Chinese Family Centre tutors. On a different level, sharing was also taking place in the Glasgow Connections where, due to the drop-in nature of the classes, tutors did not have a strictly set group and sometimes taught one another's students. In yet a different manner, the tutors of the Alliances Social Centre also influenced one another's teaching, through discussing pedagogical and other issues in fortnightly held meetings.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> As explained in Chapter Six.

<sup>137</sup> See appendix 13 for a table with the names of the organizations.

<sup>138</sup> As we saw in Chapter 4.2.3, the political culture in Greece encourages the active participation of members in their organizations' decision-making and activities (Gallant, 2001:119-120). The meetings of the tutors in the Alliances Social Centre is an illustration of that.

Out of the nine tutors interviewed in Glasgow, seven had teaching experience of some kind. The large majority had taught languages before – half of them had taught English as a Foreign Language (EFL) abroad – and one person had taught literacy. Four tutors had previously worked with marginalized groups, which in all cases were first or second generation migrants. Only one person had neither taught nor worked with a marginalized group before. Indeed that was the only person who had not worked with non-native English speakers before.

Similarly, in Athens five out of the seven tutor interviewees had previous teaching experience: one in languages, one in literacy and the other three in teaching linguistics and literature in schools. Only one of the Greek tutors had worked with marginalized groups before, in which case it was Roma, rather than migrants. In contradistinction to the tutors in Glasgow, only three people (one of which was the Polish tutor) had worked before with non-native Greek speakers and only the Polish tutor had worked outside Greece. In both cases where Greeks had such experience, it was through non-Greek pupils in their schools. Lastly, two interviewees had no experience either in teaching or in working with marginalized groups. They had however been given some training by their organization in order to support their teaching.



## 7.3 The Student Sample

Twenty-four student interviews were conducted for this study, eleven in Glasgow and thirteen in Athens. Although an even number of student interviewees among the different organizations was sought, the purposive rationale behind sampling – in particular for student-participants – was the objective of acquiring maximal variation in relation to age, gender, religious and ethnic background. Nonetheless, the sampling also depended heavily on who was willing to participate.

The student interviewees in Glasgow included people from Europe (Kosovo and Russia), Asia (Turkey, Sri Lanka, Iran and China) and Africa (Congo and Burundi).<sup>139</sup> Although similar efforts were made in Athens, the predominance of migrants and refugees of Eastern European background found in Greece (National Statistical Service of Greece in Baldwin-Edwards, 2004:5-6,14) is clearly reflected in the sample of the student respondents. The student interviewees from outside Eastern Europe (in this case represented by Poland, Romania, Moldavia, Albania and Russia) came from Turkey, Syria and Argentina. Thus, the Athens student group's cultural but also physical characteristics were not as significantly distinct from those of the host community as was the case in Glasgow. This is an important feature that is expected to influence the interviewees' responses but also affect the social involvement of a large proportion of the migrant population in Athens. It could, therefore, be considered as a limitation of the study. Nonetheless, it can also be perceived as a reflection of a social factor<sup>140</sup> affecting the educational process of second language learning and its social outcomes.

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<sup>139</sup> Russia and Turkey geographically belong to both Asia and Europe. Here they have been categorised according to the historic origins and cultural links of the national identity of each state.

<sup>140</sup> That is a country's migrant population background, which is not random, but is the manifestation of migration routes that are often based on existing economic and social links, created through colonialism, international trade, or previous migratory movements (Castles, 2000:82).



Table 7.3 Country of Origin of Student Interviewees

| Glasgow     | Athens        |
|-------------|---------------|
| EUROPE      | EUROPE        |
| Kosovo 1    | Poland 4      |
| Russia 1    | Romania 2     |
| ASIA        | Moldavia 2    |
| China 3     | Russia 1      |
| Sri Lanka 2 | Albania 1     |
| Turkey 1    | ASIA          |
| Iran 1      | Turkey 1      |
| AFRICA      | Syria 1       |
| Congo 1     | SOUTH AMERICA |
| Burundi 1   | Argentina 1   |

The sample of student interviewees in Glasgow was fairly indicative of the learners’ population in English language courses around the city. Students can primarily be divided into two targeted groups: members of existing minoritised ethnic groups; and asylum seekers/refugees, for whom there is by and large separate provision. Although, for ethical reasons the interviewees were not asked directly about their legal status, the organization in which they studied, their country of origin and what they willingly revealed during the interview gave clear indications as to who had entered the country through the asylum seeking procedure and who had not. Accordingly, out of the eleven



student interviewees in Glasgow, eight were asylum seekers or refugees. This high proportion of asylum seekers and refugees among the sample however is not coincidental, but reflects the current focus of most ESOL programmes on this particular group (Rice *et al*, 2005:20).

In Athens, the organization in which classes were attended and one's country of origin revealed less about the interviewees' legal or possible asylum/refugee status. One interviewee however, during the course of the interview, claimed to be a political refugee. However, it was later revealed that, not only did this interviewee not have a Leave to Remain, but he had not even applied for asylum. The implication of this disclosure is twofold. First, it exposes the complete lack of expectation for asylum seekers'/refugees' support by the Greek state;<sup>141</sup> and secondly it draws attention to the non-legalistic meaning the word 'refugee' still has in the refugee-originating countries, as well as in the Greek social sphere.<sup>142</sup> This is contrary to the situation in Scotland, where the socio-political meaning of the term has been diminished and where a person fleeing persecution is an asylum seeker until they receive the legal status of refugee – a way of thinking that indirectly breeds distrust as to the authenticity of refugees' claims of persecution.

Another unbalanced ratio in the Scottish student sample was that between men and women. Two out of the four organizations used in the study did not have a single male student; a third one had only two; whilst only one had an equal proportion of men and women. As a result, more than two thirds of the student interviewees were women. It has to be noted that none of these classes were by design women-only groups and that the only course where the male presence was strong was the Glasgow College. Although the ratio of women among the total Scottish second language student population was indeed higher than men's,<sup>143</sup> it was also the choice of types of organizations of this study that exacerbated their proportion among the sample, given that men tend to be concentrated in formal further education courses. Still, this gender disproportion supports previous research, which shows that for many women access to colleges is problematic and that they therefore rely on alternative types of

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<sup>141</sup> As has been documented elsewhere (Skordas & Sitaropoulos, 2004).

<sup>142</sup> In contradistinction to Scotland, the proportion of asylum seekers among the migrant population in Greece is very small (Farkas, 2005). In the late 1990s, the rate of asylum applications per thousand inhabitants was the second lowest in the EU (0.14). The asylum application rate in the UK for the same period was 1.21 (Skordas & Sitaropoulos, 2004:49).

<sup>143</sup> 66 per cent of the enrolments in the year 2003-2004 (Rice *et al*, 2005:10).

provision (Papageorgiou, 2002:51; Rice *et al*, 2005:21-22).<sup>144</sup> These other classes are of smaller level or community-based, but despite their educational and social value, they do not lead to recognised qualifications which could help women in accessing further educational opportunities.

Female students in Athens also outnumbered the men, although, not to the extent that they did in Glasgow. Thus, out of the four organizations observed, only one class was women only, a second one had mostly female students, one was equally mixed and the last one was mostly made up of men. In contradistinction to Glasgow, in Athens it was the women – rather than men – who attended the more formal and accredited courses. Accordingly, out of the nine women of the sample, seven were studying towards formal language qualifications, whilst none of the four men were doing so. A hypothesis for this discrepancy between the two cities is that the women students interviewed in Athens, as a result of their different ethnic background, tended to have an already higher educational background than those in Glasgow. This made it easier for them to overcome dispositional barriers to education (McGivney, 1993: 21-22). Furthermore, as we will see below, the fact that student interviewees in Athens had no pre-school age children also explains this discrepancy.

The Glasgow sample included most adult age groups, and although half of the interviewees were concentrated between the ages of 26 and 30, there was also a substantial number of them who were between 41 and 50. A third of the student interviewees already had some family residing in the country before their arrival. Moreover, almost everyone came to Glasgow together with some other close family member(s), which in most cases included their children. Although not all of them had a partner living with them, the great majority of the students lived with their children. One third of the interviewees had children of pre-school age, and as will be shown later, the implications of parenthood were crucial in either inhibiting or becoming a means for social involvement.

The student population in Athens was slightly older than the one in Glasgow. A third of the students in the sample were in their late 20s, whilst the other two thirds ranged between the ages of 30 and 55. Despite their older age and the fact that the large majority of the student interviewees were married, less than half of them had children

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<sup>144</sup> Glasgow College's lack of childcare provision for children under the age of two (Chapter 7.1.1.1) is an illustration of barriers to further education courses for women.



and – as already mentioned – those who did, had children of school age – rather than pre-school age, which was the case for many in Glasgow.

This could indicate that, in Athens, those migrants who have children are less likely to attend language classes. This possibility could be supported by the fact that none of the organizations offer childcare provision during class time. On the other hand, contrary to the students in Glasgow, the large majority of the students in Athens had kinship networks, which generally offer significant help in childminding. Furthermore, the impact of parenthood on students' social life was less prominent for the interviewees in Athens. An explanation for this could be the unavailability of parents with children of pre-school age in the sample, and the lack of existing and/or institutionalised structures in the public sphere that encourage the social involvement of parents through their children<sup>145</sup> – as is the case in Glasgow.

There was significant variety of educational backgrounds amongst interviewees in Glasgow. Accordingly, the students' previous formal education in most classes ranged from minimal to higher education. A third of the students in Glasgow had had some experience of adult education, other than the ESOL classes. The adult education courses cited were information technology, flower decoration, beauty therapy, digital photography and English. Apart from one student who had studied English in his country of origin, all the other adult education courses mentioned had been attended in Glasgow.

Most student interviewees in Athens had a high level of formal educational background, with the large majority of them holding a further or higher education qualification. The fields of the interviewees' studies ranged from philosophy, literature and psychology to restaurant organization and electrical engineering. Previous success in formal education, however, should not come as a surprise given that in all forms of widening participation it is the most 'included' of the 'excluded' that join. Besides, the community chosen to be studied as the single-ethnic-group class came from a country with high educational standards. Indeed all four interviewees of this class had university-level education.

Furthermore, half of the students interviewed in Athens had some experience in adult education. It was mostly in languages (English, German and the Sign Language), but

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<sup>145</sup> Such as parents' and toddlers' groups or school parents' meetings.

also on information technology and music courses. It is important to mention that, contrary to the Glasgow sample, none of these courses had taken place in Greece. Instead they were all attended before migration. This should come to no surprise as participation in adult education in Greece is limited even amongst the host community (Eurostat, 2005:2; European Commission, 2003:24).<sup>146</sup> Interestingly, the large majority of students in Athens, and especially those who had *no* previous experience in adult education, seemed to have a very clear idea of courses they would like to attend. These included information technology, English, cosmetics, hairdressing, confectionary, psychology, nursing and music.

Motivation behind taking up adult education courses in Glasgow included wanting to expand work opportunities, a desire for learning in itself, and the social aspect of wanting to make more friends, raise one's confidence and, 'make life more colourful'. For their counterparts in Athens, vocational aspiration was the main motivation behind attending adult education courses, both for those who had done so and for those who showed an interest in attending a course. However, there was also a smaller number of students who saw adult education as a leisure activity. However, although the social aspect of the language class was important for most of the students in Athens, it did not constitute a major motive for previous or future adult education.

The period students had spent in Glasgow at the time of the interviews varied from five months to four years (with the exception of a student who had been in Glasgow for twenty-five years). All of them had started ESOL within the first year of their arrival, even though some dropped out during certain periods. Indeed, the majority had started English classes within the first four months of their stay. This short waiting period could be the result of most of the interviewees coming from organizations other than a college. This is because volunteer classes have almost no waiting lists and community education has small ones, whereas the lists in further education are significant. Also, other research has shown that asylum seekers and refugees – who constitute a large segment of the Glasgow sample – have a shorter gap between arrival and starting English classes than other migrants, the average of which in 2004 was 16 months (Rice *et al*, 2005:15-17,37).

There was an even greater variation among the period each interviewee had spent in Greece. At the time of the interviews half of them had lived in Athens for more than

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<sup>146</sup> See Chapter 5.2.1.



three years, and a few of them had actually spent a significant part of their life there. Contrary to Glasgow, where all interviewees had started an ESOL course within the first year of their arrival, in Athens only half of them had started Greek within the same period. For the other half, it took between two and ten years to start a Greek language class, which highlights the long-term linguistic problems migrants face, but also the marginal role that language courses play in the learning of the language. However, we might even be at a turning point. Language class provision was previously very limited and now, for the first time, both recent and established migrants have the chance to receive language tuition.<sup>147</sup>

As only one of the interviewees in Glasgow was in paid employment, the students had a considerable amount of leisure time. The most common daily activities of the interviewees involved doing housework, visiting friends and family, and food shopping. Other activities included watching television, going for walks and, most significantly, participating in the social opportunities offered by their courses. Only one student mentioned going out to a restaurant or to a teashop, and this was in places owned by people of her own community. As Cherry explained:<sup>148</sup>

*'All our activities are inside homes because our English is not good enough'.*

The above show both a certain degree of isolation and the role of the classes in breaking it.

Work and study occupied most of the day of the student interviewees in Athens. For some, these two activities actually took up all their time, leaving no scope for socialising or recreation. In contradistinction to Glasgow though, the activities of those students who did have some leisure time were less concentrated on the household. Going out with friends, visiting friends and family, going for walks and reading were the most common activities in their spare time. Other activities, though less typical, included listening to and playing music, doing sports, watching television and being involved in politics. Most Athens student interviewees leisure time activities were, thus, not any different from those of the host community's. As Irene stated in reaction to this question:

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<sup>147</sup> This gap interferes with the findings as, for those students, there will be more influences on their social involvement. See Chapter 6.4.

<sup>148</sup> For a list of the coded names of the interviewees and the organizations they attended classes at see the Appendix 13.

*'My social life is just like everybody else's.'*

Possible factors that contribute to this sharing of activities – whether in private or in social space – could be the less distanced culture between many of the migrant groups and the host community, migrants' incorporation in mainstream institutions through work, and the outdoors culture of the host community enabled by the warmer climate.



# CHAPTER 8 – GLASGOW INTERVIEWEES' RESPONSES

## 8.1 Purpose of Class – Students

We need to begin by investigating the motivations behind students' choice to undertake second language courses and by exploring whether these are linked to social involvement. According to the students interviewees in Glasgow, the two major reasons for embarking on second language learning were of social nature. These were to facilitate communication and to meet new people – whether classmates or others:

*'[I come to the class to learn] to communicate. English would make life easier to communicate and meet other people.'*

Warren

The social function of the class was highlighted by other students as well. As Adlin said:

*'I need the language. It helps in making friends, and the teachers help in many other ways. I come to the class because I love it.'*

Moreover, some students expected that the class would be a means for learning about and understanding the host community's society and culture. As Sophie said, through the class she wanted to:

*'Understand people's way of thinking.'*

Similarly Andrey said:

*'I'm learning English to understand the world around me and find new good friends.'*

Apart from these aims, which are of a primarily social nature, some students had personal goals that they expected to achieve through attending the language classes. These goals included enhancing their ability and confidence to perform everyday tasks, increasing employability, assisting in moving into further education and receiving personal practical help from the staff of the organization where the class was held.

Although the above motivations might not look directly linked to active citizenship, meeting people and understanding the host community are the first steps in becoming socially involved. It helps in the building of social capital (both bonding and bridging capital) and in becoming informed.<sup>149</sup> Therefore, the social focus of students' motivations – which was similarly found in the study conducted by Bellis and Morrice (2003:81-84) – makes the study's interest in encouraging social involvement through the classroom particularly relevant to the students' interests.

Table 8.1 Students' Motives for Attending the Class

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Enable practical everyday communication (7 responses)</li><li>• Socialising with classmates (7 responses)</li><li>• Enable socialisation outwith the class (4 responses)</li><li>• Learning and understanding the host community (4 responses)</li><li>• Enhancing employability (2 responses)</li><li>• Receiving practical help from organization (1 response)</li><li>• Enhancing confidence (1 response)</li><li>• A step for moving into further education (1 response)</li></ul> |
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<sup>149</sup> See Framework for Endorsing Active Citizenship through Adult Education, table 2.1.2.



## 8.2 Purpose of Class – Tutors

Glasgow tutors' motives in delivering such classes, reflected those of the students' and were of a socio-political nature, rather than educational *per se*. Obviously, the case of the professional tutors was different from that of the volunteers, in that they had already been engaged in different strands of teaching. The current demand for ESOL classes in Glasgow (Rice *et al*, 2003) implied that this was one of the main areas where they could be employed. As Mary said when asked about her choice to work in this field:

*'It was a job I could do. I used to teach English abroad, so it was the obvious option.'*

Nonetheless, making a living was not the sole reason for their particular employment choice. The Glasgow College tutors, having worked as English teachers abroad, enjoyed and valued working with people from other countries. Moreover, Fiona, who had previously worked with refugees overseas and who therefore had an understanding of their situation, felt that:

*'I wanted to offer them some help the only way I can.'*

Similarly, tutors in the Chinese Family Centre suggested that they were doing this job, not only because they liked teaching, but also because, as Alice said:

*'I've been working with Chinese elderly people and Chinese patients for some time and I've come to realise the isolation of the Chinese community and the loneliness of Chinese people. Breaking the language barrier would make a great difference about that.'*

The tutor in the Refugees' Learning Centre was a person who, after retiring, wished he could continue to offer something to society. Unlike the professional tutors, George had no previous insight into the situation of the particular target group. However, his work abroad had given him an understanding of the problems caused by the barriers to communication and therefore it became a reason for assisting to overcome them:

*'I used to be a seafarer, working on ships. So, I'm aware of communication problems.'*

Furthermore, like the Glasgow College tutors, he enjoyed and was inspired by the cultural exchange that took place in the class.

*'Teaching English was something I could do, and something I find very enjoyable.'*

Similarly, half of the tutors in the Glasgow Connections had also lived abroad and, because of this experience, felt empathy for those living in Glasgow unable to speak the language and/or understand the culture. As a result, they thought it would be good to help those in need by welcoming them and offering them language classes:

*'It would be good to help people who need it, to welcome people. Especially as I've lived abroad myself.'*

Paul

In addition, like many of the tutors above, an interest in meeting different people and learning about other cultures was a further incentive for volunteering. As Sandie explained:

*'I always had an interest in getting to know people from other parts of the world. But also because I lived in Thailand before, I felt empathy for people arriving in Glasgow unable to speak the language. So, when a friend who used to be a volunteer was trying to find someone to cover for him, I offered straight away.'*

From the above, one can see that empathy, a desire to help and an interest in other cultures were the recurring aims behind becoming a second language tutor in Glasgow – whether that was as a professional or a volunteer – reflecting the social democratic values and paternalistic liberalism of the Scottish political culture (Brown *et al*, 1996:7-10; Paterson, 2002a:209-210).

Nonetheless, two tutors from Glasgow Connections offered a different reason to explain their volunteering. For them, practising teaching was either the primary or the sole purpose behind taking up this work, given that they had either recently graduated or were interested in undertaking a TEFL course. In Catherine's case, she aimed simply at exploring the field before deciding whether to do the course and, as she said:

*'I had no political or other kind of social drive.'*

Paul was the other person who:

*'Thought it would be good to keep on practising [teaching] after getting my degree.'*



Therefore, apart from the above reason, the aim to break migrants' isolation through the development of communication skills, as well as the concern in welcoming people, indicate tutors' interest in enabling migrants' social involvement. Moreover, tutors' interest in other cultures entails a desire to see the separate communities working together. This objective is also implied in the belief of the tutors in the Chinese Family Centre and the Refugees' Learning Centre that their work is a contribution to society as a whole. Therefore, we see that, although not a pronounced one, the endorsement of students' engagement in society was an interest shared by the tutors.

## 8.3 Teaching and Curriculum – Tutors

### 8.3.1 Scope of Curriculum

Having seen the relevance of endorsing students' social involvement through the second language education class, this section looks into whether the content of the classes under investigation encouraged the critical exploration of ideas and whether they offered necessary knowledge in order for students to become informed in such a way that would help them in becoming socially involved. Given the overwhelmingly social drive behind undertaking this work, all tutors in Glasgow felt that their lessons should not be purely restricted to language teaching. However, there was a great variation in the rationale for doing so and in the value attributed to the non-linguistic elements of the class. Thus, whether intentionally or naturally, the classes also included discussions on the host community's culture and practical advice on how the system works.

The tutors in Glasgow College used a topic-based curriculum. Language was therefore set in a context – cultural and systemic, which tutors viewed as being just as important as language itself. Tutors were aware of the necessity of this contextual knowledge, given that the majority of their students were asylum seekers for whom the class constituted the main gateway to information on Scottish society:

*'[The non-linguistic elements of the class are important because they] let them know about society. They are grouped in flats and they've no contact with the society here. It's in English classes that they learn about the country they're living in.'*

Mary

Furthermore, they encouraged their students to personalise discussions and to talk about their home countries in order to enable them to share their own experiences.

Similarly, tutors in the Chinese Family Centre expanded the scope of their curriculum wherever possible. Although it was not the case initially, learning about the host culture had become a recognised and essential element of the class. As Susie claimed:

*'There is no use of knowing the language if you don't understand the culture.'*



Language learning was considered in the Chinese Family Centre as having a mainly practical use: enabling functioning in society,<sup>150</sup> communicating aspects of one's own life<sup>151</sup> and understanding the host culture.<sup>152</sup>

This approach to the curriculum, not only made the class more interesting, but it also dissolved the hierarchical barriers between students and teachers, which are particularly strong in this community's culture:

*'[These discussions] make the class more interesting. It's not like a student-teacher situation, a friendship is built. They look at me as a friend. They're learning more than the language.'*

Alice

For the centre's tutors, this re-conceptualisation of roles was therefore another important aspect of the students' learning, which could help their wider social engagement.

The tutor in the Refugees' Learning Centre tried to generate the curriculum from the context of the students' lives, rather than from particular linguistic or grammatical points:

*'It's the students and their lives ... that's where the lessons' topics are coming from.'*

George

This was seen as necessary in order to enable students' functioning and participating in their new environment. For this reason, there was special attention paid to Glasgow, its linguistic particularities, its culture and the services provided.

From the foregoing, one can see the similarities between the tutors of all the above organizations in relation to perceptions of curriculum content, its scope and its purposes. Thus, the curriculum's expansion in order to include cultural and systemic elements was a conscious decision made by the tutors with the intention of informing

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<sup>150</sup> Such as giving apologies and checking flight tickets.

<sup>151</sup> Such as describing in English the Dragon Boat Festival.

<sup>152</sup> For example, becoming familiar with Catholicism, Protestantism and sectarianism and discussing cultural perceptions of coming of age.

students about Scottish society, enabling them to participate in it and allowing the communication of personal experiences and perspectives.

The responses in the campaign organization were significantly split, but both of its standpoints diverged from the above orientation. Hence, the tutors in the Glasgow Connections Class A claimed to be committed to expanding the content of the curriculum. However, for them, the content of the class was more than just a means to help students in their daily life. More importantly, the class was:

*'A social thing, a key to the community itself. They come together, ask for advice and discuss their problems.'*

Paul

Therefore, apart from learning the language, students in the Glasgow Connections Class A got to know one another, built a community and dealt with personal issues. Depending on the students' needs, the activities included:

*'We offer information about life in Glasgow, we interpret letters from lawyers or other official letters, we talk about their cultures, about cookery, shopping, medicine – because many of them have medical problems...'*

Jane

Moreover, it was seen as important that students learnt to recognise the Glasgow dialect in order to understand local people on the street and not to wrongly perceive that these people were insulting them, a common misunderstanding that hinders the integration between the communities. Furthermore, the students were given some information about the historical and social background of the UK, but as Jane said:

*'I avoid topics related to politics and religion, as is the case in all other forms of education.'*

We thus see that the non-linguistic subjects entering this class were similar to the ones discussed in the groups above. What was different though, was the purpose behind doing so, which was to build social networks rather than to simply offer knowledge and information.

In contradistinction, the tutor interviewees of the Glasgow Connections Class B focused much more on the language itself. Nevertheless, discussions about life in Scotland, cultural and social issues naturally cropped up in the class:



*'In the beginning I lacked the confidence, so I focused quite a lot on the language itself. But things about culture, life in Scotland and other things sometimes spill over.'*

Catherine

Students asked questions on these subjects, but most commonly the socio-cultural topics would emerge as a means for practising oral skills. These topics emerged either from pictures – for Catherine – or from the textbook – for Sandie.

Although Catherine said that, with time, she realised that the lesson becomes more real and interesting when students draw from their own lives, she argued that personal past experiences should not be brought up in the class as they could raise traumatic memories that the tutors would not know how to deal with:

*'I don't want to talk about personal past experiences. This is not my role.'*

Catherine

Therefore, whilst two of the tutors of Glasgow Connections used the content of their class in order to build social networks – on top of assisting their students in practical ways – the other two were reluctant to expand the scope of the curriculum. Indeed, even when it happened, they did not see it as a valuable independent element of the class in itself. Rather it served the purposes of language practice:

*'After working on a grammatical point, I try to get a conversation going that is usually based on the textbook.'*

Sandie

In conclusion, social and cultural elements were perceived by most Glasgow tutors as important elements of the class. They were considered as crucial for enabling students to function and participate in Scottish society, and as a means of building bonding social capital in the form of networks for student support. However, there was also some reluctance regarding these elements, due to fear of allowing political and religious discussions taking place in the classroom or fear of having to deal with traumatic experiences. This reflects the Scottish tradition of liberal adult education, which aims to be unpartisan. Yet, even for Mansbridge (1913), this does not mean exclusion of everything political or religious, but instead the welcoming of all different approaches to these issues.

### 8.3.2 Textbooks and Materials

The study also looked into the teaching materials used in the classes and their appropriateness and relevancy for the particular student group. Moreover, it explored whether these materials expanded knowledge that would encourage social involvement, and whether students were developing a voice through having a say in matters of curriculum.

In relation to course materials, seven out of ten of the tutors interviewed in Glasgow said that they followed a core textbook. The tutors in Glasgow College were the only ones who did not have a choice over which textbooks to use, as this was set by the college class co-ordinators. These books were meant for students of EFL, and not for students of ESOL. They were thus directed towards people – in most cases teenagers or young adults – who did not live or intend to live in an English speaking country. As a result, they do not cover the needs of the particular student-group. Using these books was a result of the limited market of ESOL materials, a problem also noted by tutors from other organizations in the study:<sup>153</sup>

*'The books I use are mostly EFL books, because that's what's on the market. There are hardly any ESOL textbooks.'*

Fiona

The Glasgow College tutors were aware of the textbooks' inappropriateness and for this reason, Mary said:

*'I have to pick out of the book what isn't patronising.'*

Moreover, in addition to the core textbook, they used extracts from other course-books, resources created by the tutors themselves particularly for these classes and, when possible, real materials.<sup>154</sup> Wishing to respond to their students' needs, Mary often brought different tasks for the students to choose from, whilst Fiona handed her students questionnaires in order to find out about topics they wanted to concentrate on as well as their preferred teaching methods. Lastly, students were actively encouraged to ask questions whenever they had any.

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<sup>153</sup> Mostly a result of publishers' concentration on a long-existing and already profitable market of English language learners abroad.

<sup>154</sup> For example, forms, timetables, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements, television extracts, etc.



Unlike the situation in Glasgow College, the tutors in the Chinese Family Centre made their own choices about resources. The key textbooks used targeted the particular student group as they were devised for Chinese people who had the intention of living in the UK or another English speaking country. Alice used books that she selected when she visited Hong Kong:

*'Whenever I go to Hong Kong I look for books made for people who intend to come and stay here.'*

Susie was using a book that:

*'A student from China recommended.'*

In addition, Alice created her own materials for the class, whilst both tutors claimed to be open to input from their students. This input could be either in the form of students bringing materials to be used as resources for the lesson, or in the form of raising issues from which vocabulary and/or socio-cultural topics were generated. This input was important given that, as Susie said,

*'It's a very organic class ... from every lesson in the book we develop an area that touches their lives.'*

The tutor in the Refugees' Learning Centre was also in control of the curriculum. Being aware of the limitations of most EFL course-books, George used literacy materials instead:

*'I avoid the likes of Headway.<sup>155</sup> They're both culturally and linguistically inappropriate for my students.'*

Further resources used in the class were handouts from other textbooks, tasks created by the tutor, real materials and local short stories. According to the tutor, these short stories were key resources as they gave access to the linguistic particularities and aspects of Glasgow life. Nonetheless, for him, the most important resource for the lessons was the students themselves, on whose queries and interests the class was based:

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<sup>155</sup> One of the most typical and popular EFL book series.

*'I rely on their queries. I want to get them talking rather than have them listening to me. I expect them to run the class themselves and I'm here just to facilitate them.'*

The only two tutors who did not follow particular textbooks were teaching in Glasgow Connections.<sup>156</sup> The reasons behind this decision were, according to Catherine, the inappropriateness of existing books and, according to Jane, the inconsistency of students' presence in the class:

*'You don't know who'll be coming next week, so there is no point having a textbook.'*

Instead, these tutors used selected materials from different textbooks, real materials, tasks created for the class, pictures, word games and resources from the Internet. Jane, who found the students' irregular attendance challenging, brought with her a selection of materials from which she chose – together with the students – at the beginning of each lesson. The other two Glasgow Connections tutors, who followed particular EFL textbooks, also supplemented their class content with the above extra resources. Finally, as was the case in the other organizations in Glasgow, student input was highly valued. Consequently, all Glasgow Connections tutors claimed to be following their students' pace and direction, as well as constantly inviting feedback.

From the above, one can appreciate the dedication of the Glasgow tutors to their students. Everyone made a conscious effort to overcome the lack of appropriate resources through the imaginative use of a variety of materials, which they tried to make as relevant as possible to their students' lives. Real materials and materials generated by tutors based on the students' experiences could encourage the exploration of social ideas and realities and could further the understanding of students' new environment. The Refugees' Learning Centre tutor's choice to use materials based on Glasgow and the Glasgow Connections Class A tutors' attention in the Glasgow linguistic particularities is of particular interest as it could offer specific knowledge about the immediate society in which students find themselves in and thus enable their participation in it. <sup>157</sup>

All tutors seemed to share a student-centred perspective. They thus tried to respond to their groups' particular needs and encouraged students' input in the class in different

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<sup>156</sup> There was no correlation between those tutors in Glasgow Connections who used or did not use textbooks and the tutors who expanded or did not expand the scope of the curriculum.

<sup>157</sup> Important since the sense of belonging they get tends to be that of the community/neighbourhood.



ways. Nonetheless, although most tutors perceived the offering of the opportunity for feedback and input as sufficiently student-centred and successful, Paul from Glasgow Connections questioned the degree to which students gained voice in this process, commenting that:

*'[The students] are happy to be having a class, so they don't ever criticise.'*

## 8.4 Teaching and Curriculum – Students

At this point it is important to compare tutors' perceptions on teaching and curriculum to those of their students. In this way, we can examine the extent to which the curriculum is really relevant to the students' lives, the purposes they perceive it as serving, and whether the development of social involvement is one of these purposes.

The tutors' eagerness to assist their students was highly appreciated by the latter. Accordingly, all student interviewees in Glasgow expressed positive feelings towards their tutors and claimed to have a very comfortable relationship with them. When questioned about the topics discussed in the class, the students in Glasgow College said that they talked about everything. Students were then probed as to whether they discussed the host community's culture, how the system works, social realities affecting their lives, experiences from their country of origin and/or personal issues. The students' replies embraced a variety of subjects, which however excluded issues relating to their personal life:

*'We talk about everything – film stars, the news, Scottish society, our countries, if we need to ask about information.'*

Suzanna

The most common discussion topics were the students' countries of origin, Scottish culture and news headlines. Other topics included work and famous people, political systems, childcare and social problems of the host community (e.g. alcoholism). In addition, students said that, if someone had specific queries about administrative issues and services, they could raise the issue in the class.

Time allocated to these discussions was seen by all student interviewees in the college as important, mostly because it helped them understand the host culture but also because it enabled them to talk about their home country. According to Babak:

*'[It is a] good part of learning. I try to explain my culture. It is important to me. For example, comparing Glasgow to Tehran. You really want to talk about your country. Also, learning about the Scottish culture in the college is important because in the college is where we meet Scottish people.'*

This element of the class was viewed both as a useful way of practising and accumulating vocabulary, and also as a way of learning about the host culture.



*'In a language class we can speak about any topic. It's good for practising. Also, if we are to live here, we must know the culture. It's my decision to come here, so I have to learn the culture.'*

Andrey

Interestingly, Suzanna and Andrey said that, through discussing Scottish culture, they also came to realise the commonalities between their country of origin and the host society:

*'The more we talk about culture, the more common things I see between Scotland and Russia. Like the drinking, the holidays, the clothes...'*

Andrey

Realising that there are commonalities between one's background and the host society is crucial for generating a sense of belonging, which motivates people in becoming socially involved. Indeed, Suzanna and Andrey were some of the most socially engaged student interviewees in Glasgow. Both these interviewees, however, were European<sup>158</sup> and they were not sure whether the same perception of commonalities was shared by their non-European, particularly Muslim, classmates.<sup>159</sup>

The students in the Chinese Family Centre said that they mostly discussed everyday topics and practical issues that affected their lives as Chinese in Glasgow.<sup>160</sup> Whenever there was time, they also generated discussions from the news headlines. However, personal issues were being discussed only during breaks. The two interviewees from this class had divergent opinions on the value of an expanded curriculum. Warren argued that:

*'I just want to learn English. Concentrate on vocabulary and grammar.'*

According to him, time that did not directly contribute to the learning of grammatical structures, syntax and vocabulary was misused. For Cherry, however, time discussing social issues was of vital importance, given that she knew very little about the host community.

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<sup>158</sup> From Kosovo and Russia.

<sup>159</sup> This is because they considered the central place of alcohol in the Scottish culture as generating uneasiness among Muslim students, when for them it was something familiar. Another factor suggested was festive seasons like Christmas and Easter, which are common amongst predominantly Christian countries.

<sup>160</sup> For example, how to send their children to be educated in China.

There are several factors that may account for these opposing perspectives and which highlight the individual circumstances of each student. Hence, not only had Warren resided in Scotland for twenty-five years<sup>161</sup> – a whole life in comparison to Cherry who had lived in Glasgow for two years – but he was also the sole interviewee in Glasgow who was in full-time employment and whose time was therefore much more restricted. On the other hand, Cherry was an active member of her community and a member of a volunteer organization her tutor had introduced the class to. Her social life was thus very unlike that of Warren's, whose sole activity outwith work was the language course. Therefore, for Cherry, information on Scottish culture and society was more useful and, as a result, of greater interest.

Most students in the Refugees' Learning Centre, similarly to their counterparts in the other classes, said that there was nothing they did not discuss in the class. Moreover, they replied positively to all probes on possible subjects mentioned above. Unlike the respondents from the other organizations, students in this class also claimed to discuss their personal lives. Nevertheless, the examples of topics that they offered:

*'We talk about things like shops, the children's schools, doctors. That sort of things.'*

Sophie

showed that these discussions were in reality dominated by their daily routines, and were thus directed towards facilitating everyday life – either by providing them with the appropriate vocabulary or by explaining them the culture and administrative procedures in Scotland. In fact, it was mostly as a means of practising oral skills that this element of the class was valued for by most students:

*'It's good to talk about these issues because it's good practice.'*

Faya

Still, another student valued the focus of the class on Glasgow, saying that:

*'It's important to understand the culture in Glasgow.'*

Peggy

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<sup>161</sup> Although not uninterruptedly.



Similarly students in Glasgow Connections Class A claimed to hold discussions on all topics and subjects, including personal issues. Accordingly, they talked about books, actors, jobs and the host society. As Yildiz said:

*'We talk about everything, even about our cases.'*

This was illustrated by the value the students ascribed to these discussions, which was very important given that it helped them with practical issues but also with psychological support. This was not the case in Class B, where the group did not talk about students' experiences in the country of origin:

*'It's only a two-hour class. There's no time for such discussions.'*

Maya

As we saw in the previous section, Class B was the group whose tutor avoided such discussions and where social issues entered the classroom mostly for language practice.

Also unique in Glasgow Connections was the focus placed on discussions about cultural differences. Focus on the diverse aspects of cultures can be seen in Adlin's reply on whether these discussions were of value as discrete elements of the class:

*'It's very important to know the culture my children grow up in, even if I want them to remain Tamil. I see the Scottish culture where they marry at 16 and I don't like that.'*

Looking at the differences – rather than the similarities – could perhaps stem, as the Glasgow College interviewees suggested, from the students' more divergent cultural backgrounds. Still, personal history and beliefs were perhaps only partly the reason for looking at the differences and at what separates people, rather than at the similarities between cultures and people. The approach taken by their tutors – that is whether in their discussions they focus on the similarities or on the differences of societies and cultures – could also be an influence in that.

Students were not only asked about what topics entered the classroom, but also whether there was anything in particular that they wanted or did not want to be raised. To that, everyone replied that if there were an issue, they would feel free to bring it up in the class. Interestingly though, some people from Glasgow College and the Chinese Family Centre argued that they would not want personal issues to be

shared in the class, either because they were not considered as serious topics for a class or because they were private, and thus, inappropriate. Furthermore, Maya, the student from the Glasgow Connections class where they did not talk about past uneasy experiences, also claimed not to want to discuss social issues affecting their lives. She argued instead that:

*'I can talk about these things with my social worker.'*

From the above, we see that involving in the lessons discussions on the host community's society and culture was viewed by students as very important, since it provides knowledge that is necessary for functioning in society, but also – according to Cherry – that is valuable for more active social involvement. Becoming able to talk about one's own country and culture could give voice to the students, enabling them to articulate and defend experiences and views. Furthermore, by encouraging students to explore the similarities – rather than the differences – among the diverse cultures, a class could develop the potential for the formation of cross-cultural alliances and an interest in contributing to society.

Lastly, notwithstanding the differences of each student's situation – illustrated by the example of the Chinese Family Centre's students' divergent replies – there seems to be a correlation between the tutors' responses and those of their students in relation to what constitutes an important element of a language class. This pattern could be a result of tutors' responsiveness to their students' needs and interests. However, it could also be a consequence of students' unwitting appropriation of their tutor(s)' views, which highlights the indirect power tutors exercise on their students.



## 8.5 Extra-Curricular Activities – Tutors

An aspect of language classes that has been particularly overlooked in literature is the extra-curricular activities in which many tutors and students engage in. These activities are seen as a means of openly exhorting students to be socially participative and thus their examination is seen as key to the study. Extra-curricular activities can have educational or social objectives, both of which can contribute to students' social involvement. Educational activities can provide information about different settings of the host society and may help explore social realities, whilst social activities can encourage the building of social capital and finding of common purpose. Lastly, possible participation of the students in the organising of extra-curricular activities can help them work collaboratively and develop a sense of agency.

In three out of the four organizations studied in Glasgow, tutors and students had gatherings outside the classroom, whether that was for social or for educational activities. In some organizations these events were more frequent than in others, but in all cases they were considered to be of value. These activities, however, also required certain resources. As a consequence, the tutor in the Refugees' Learning Centre – the only class where such activities were not held – would very much want to organise such events, but lacked the time, funds and volunteers:

*'This is what's definitely missing from the class. I wish I could arrange some extra-curricular activities, but I don't have the time, or the money. And there aren't any volunteers to help out.'*

George

The students in Glasgow College were luckier in that respect. For them, there were excursions at the end of the term, visits to Edinburgh, picnics in the nearby park and a Christmas party. All these activities were organised by the college for educational, but mostly for social purposes, and over half of the students normally attended.

Tutors in the Chinese Family Centre were more proactive in organising such activities, given that the organization itself did not offer such opportunities. Accordingly, there were end of term parties jointly organised by the tutors. On top of that, one of the tutors would invite her class to participate in events held in another community organization in which the tutor was a volunteer member. Initially, the motivation behind inviting students along was not at all educational. Instead, it was for the students to go out and form friendships. Yet its purpose had now developed into partly

being educational, in addition to social, as students were asking questions about what they saw and experienced. An obstacle to people attending such events was parenting responsibilities. For this reason, Alice invited them to events mostly during school holidays, when they had more free time:

*'I'm a volunteer at [a community organization]. I ask the class to come along when something is organised, especially during the summer, when there is no school. Otherwise, they would find it difficult to know where to go.'*

Alice

The other tutor in the Chinese Family Centre insisted that more attention should be paid to extra-curricular activities to the extent of them becoming a curriculum requirement. Susie focused on the educational aspect of extra-curricular activities and highlighted how a lesson outside the classroom could be made more effective. Thus, on one occasion when there were few people in the class and someone asked about bed linen, she took the students to a nearby shop where they held the class. However, she said that this requires a great effort from the part of the tutor, who should be offered assistance by the educational authorities in order to be able to carry out such activities:

*'It should be a curriculum requirement, but the educational authorities don't take our classes seriously. So, everything is in the teacher's hands.'*

In Glasgow Connections there were more regular extra-curricular activities, whose aims were almost exclusively social. In both classes of the organization, there were occasional parties, as well as weekly women's groups. These women's groups were run by volunteers, who were also support staff during regular class hours. In Class B, the responsibility for the organisation of extra-curricular events lay exclusively with the organization and its support staff. Tutors also had been deliberating about a class visit to a museum, a picnic or sightseeing in Glasgow. Nonetheless, this had not materialised, mostly due to the young age of many students' children.

Tutors of the group in Glasgow Connections Class A arranged unofficially for outings with their students' and their own family members or for their students to visit them at home:



*'I invite people to my house, I visit them ... they want another adult around. People miss having people in their houses. I've also taken peoples' families out together with my own family.'*

Jane

This was reciprocated by the students, who often invited their tutors to their houses after the class. Interestingly, the participation of students in arranging social events for the class was not restricted to that. Some time before the interviews took place:

*'[Some students of this group] organised a Turkish night for the International Women's Day. This night grew out of the class and they all went to it.'*

Paul

Notably, this was the only class in the study where students had themselves taken the initiative to organise an event for their classmates and members of staff.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> As we will see in Chapter 9.5, the students of Integration also organised an extra-curricular activity. The difference is that this was an outing and not the preparation of an event, as was the case in Glasgow Connections.

## 8.6 Extra-Curricular Activities – Students

From the above, one can see that different tutors placed different emphasis on extra-curricular activities, which were sometimes educational yet always encompassed a social aspect aiming to endorse bonding social capital. Students were also asked about their own views on such activities, and on the impact these had on their social life. A first basic step for engagement is social interaction and the building of social networks. For this reason, students were asked about the contact they had with classmates outwith class hours and how the staff had contributed towards it.

In Glasgow College, two out of the three interviewees did not have any contact with other students outside class hours. One of these two students expressed some interest in extra-curricular activities, particularly during holiday-time:

*'It would be nice if we saw each other during the summer.'*

Babak

According to Babak, the purpose, apart from social, might also be educational given that students could be visiting museums or historical sites. However, such excursions were seen as difficult to take place because:

*'Some [students] are working, are busy or not interested'*

Babak

Being a single father, Babak also lacked the time and therefore the real interest for such extra-curricular activities. The other student, who had not established any contacts through the class, claimed not to be interested. Suzanna's argument was that, through the community ESOL class she had been attending during her pregnancy,<sup>163</sup> she became involved in a local refugee organization through which she was still very active. As a result, she had no time to attend extra-curricular activities arranged by the college.

Unlike the experiences of the above students, Andrey said that he did maintain contact with classmates – but these were only students from his own background. This contact was mostly over the phone and not frequent, but once they did arrange to get together socially. The same student also:

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<sup>163</sup> When she was unable to go to the college class.



*'Gave the class the idea about a barbeque in the countryside. If the tutors arranged it, it would be better because they would be able to explain things about the place. It would be nice, but also important.'*

Andrey

Andrey thus believed that, with tutors' contribution, students would gain through an extra-curricular activity a deeper understanding of the experience. Notably, this student was the only one of the interviewees in Glasgow who did not have family. As a result, he faced fewer situational barriers (McGivney, 1993:17-18) – but also had more need – for socialising with people from his college.

The students of the Chinese Family Centre, in common with their answers on the curriculum, had divergent responses to the possibility of the language class acting as a means for advancing their social life. Thus, Warren, who preferred to concentrate on a more traditional language curriculum, maintained no contact with other students outside class hours. When he was asked whether he would be interested in participating in extra-curricular activities organised by the centre, he replied that he had never thought about it. He assumed that they all had families and therefore no spare time. Additionally, limited information was another reason for his lack of interest. This does not imply that he disregarded the social aspect of the class. Indeed, he perceived the language class as a major social activity:

*'This class is my social activity.'*

Cherry, on the other hand, did have contact with some classmates over the phone and also met up with them during holidays. Moreover, as already mentioned, she had become a volunteer in a community association, an organization she had been introduced to by her tutor – Alice. In addition, through her volunteer work, she participated in wider minoritised ethnic group initiatives. Although she also had a family, she did not perceive it as an obstacle to further participation. Yet it has to be noted that her children were slightly older – fourteen and sixteen – and perhaps their age contributed to her freedom. At the same time, she faced a different hindrance in having more contact with classmates. That was living far from the Chinese Family Centre and having very limited English to allow her to travel with confidence. However:

*'If I had someone to pick me up and take me back home, I'd be quite keen.'*

As mentioned already, the Refugees' Learning Centre was the only class in Glasgow not organising any extra-curricular activities for its students. Outside class hours, the students only had occasional contact over the phone. Although the students claimed to be either keen or very keen to engage in extra-curricular activities, factors such as not living in close proximity and not having enough time due to family responsibilities were hindering such engagement. Another barrier mentioned was that the students' English was not sufficient for them to arrange a social meeting outside the class. The problem did not lie in their ability to communicate among themselves, as all but one were fluent French speakers. Rather, it lay in the capability to get information about where to go and how to get there. For this reason, one student expressed the wish for the tutor to arrange activities that could be both social and educational:

*'We cannot do anything because none of us can speak good English. But I would like it if the tutor planned it for us.'*

Peggy

Contact among the students of Glasgow Connections was the most frequent across all classes in the study. Two out of the three interviewees said that they had regular contact with at least one person from their class. Yildiz was the most participative of them, visiting or inviting to her house several of her classmates and tutors, as well as assisting in the Glasgow Connections' childcare provision. Furthermore, all student interviewees from the Glasgow Connections participated in most activities arranged by their class, and two of them attended the weekly women's groups. No concrete answer was given by two of the interviewees as to whether they would like more meetings. Nonetheless, their ambivalence in responding, together with their regular participation in most or all activities, could indicate a reluctance to be seen as demanding.<sup>164</sup> The other student, Yildiz, said that she would like further extra-curricular activities:

*'Yes! Because we asylum seekers are stuck in the house.'*

These activities would be most welcome as the class and its associated events were virtually her only opportunities for communication and socialisation.

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<sup>164</sup> Reflecting what one of their tutors said in Chapter 8.3.2. – *'[The students] are happy to be having a class, so they don't ever criticise'.*



To summarise, most students were keen to participate in extra-curricular activities, which they considered important both from a social and from an educational point of view. However, this was more difficult for those with children or for those who lived further away from where these activities took place. The Glasgow Connections classes were the most successful in encouraging their students to participate in these events, as well as in creating social networks between the students. Possible explanations for that could be the physical proximity of the classes, organising more regular activities,<sup>165</sup> and involving in the planning of these activities tutors and support staff whom the students knew on a personal basis. Finally, given that the level of English of students in the Glasgow Connections was not higher than that of those in the Refugees' Learning Centre, it becomes clear that – apart from the influence of personal circumstances – tutors' contribution towards the organising of extra-curricular activities plays a significant role in the participation of the students in these activities, as well as in student contact outside class hours in general.

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<sup>165</sup> Maybe partly due to the proximity factor.

## 8.7 Impact of the Educational Experience – Students

### 8.7.1 The Personal Level

Besides the impact of extra-curricular activities on students' social life, interviewees were also asked to identify any other life changes that they consider to be the learning programme's outcome and which affected their social involvement. Although it is difficult to isolate the causes of change in one's life – especially in the case of migrants who have to adapt in a multiply alien environment – all but one of the student interviewees claimed that, as a result of the course, they had become more confident and independent:

*'I'm more independent; I can go to the city centre by myself!'*

Peggy

Apart from the ability to carry out simple – but basic – everyday tasks and activities, some people also mentioned the opportunity the class had offered them in meeting other people and thus in breaking their social isolation:

*'My heart is happy, being with nice people outside the house!'*

Maya

Lastly, one student argued that the language lessons had affected his family life in that his eight-year old son increasingly trusted him and the parent-child relationship, which often suffers when parents lack the linguistic and social knowledge of the environment, had now been re-established:

*'My son is asking me questions and now I can answer. He now trusts me more.'*

Babak

Student interviewees were asked in more detail about the aspects in which the class had made them more confident. They were also quizzed whether they had become confident in ways that could affect their socio-political engagement. In particular, they were prompted as to whether, due to the class, they now found it easier to interact with strangers, discuss with officials and be more open to people from their own or different backgrounds. They were also asked whether they had become more assertive if they felt they were being treated unfairly or whether they were better able to express their views in a group or meeting.



Apart from one interviewee, who claimed that as a result of personal experiences in his country of origin he would never be confident again, the majority of students claimed that they were more confident in interacting with strangers but also in developing familiarity with people from different backgrounds. In addition, the class acted for most of the students as an incentive for further learning, which is key for active citizenship. However, there were a couple of students who considered themselves:

*'Too old to learn.'*

Faya

The fact that they were actually learning a new language was indicated to them, yet they did not view this fact as conflicting with their negative self-perception.

A few students claimed to have gained the confidence to speak out and express their views, and two of them also had become more assertive when discussing matters with officials – attributes that are important for social actors. These responses naturally depended to a large extent on the character of each interviewee. Consequently, the answers of students of the same class often differed. It is interesting to note, however, that – unlike other groups – none of the students in the Refugees' Learning Centre had become more confident in relation to these particular aspects, which could indicate the role of the class in raising different aspects of one's confidence.

## 8.7.2 The Community Level

This section explores whether and how classes promote an understanding of the host community and a feeling of belonging, which indicate the potential for fostering collective identities, for dealing with difference and conflict and for learning to work together. Moreover, it looks into whether the students develop an interest in the host community and its current affairs, which would involve accessing information and taking some responsibility in social issues.

Learning English, according to Babak, is a prerequisite for becoming part of the society<sup>166</sup> and therefore for making any future plans. Nonetheless, the legal status of most of these students forced them to limit their plans to engaging in further learning. For some students, the asylum limbo was even more demoralizing and obstructed the formation of *any* future planning. On the other hand, the plans of the students of the Chinese Family Centre – who did not face similar legal issues – were associated with vocational aspirations, either of entering the job market or of improving their position in it:

*‘Maybe I could get a better job.’*

Warren

Responses also indicated that it was mostly through contact with people – whether Scottish or not – and through gaining communicative ability that the students increasingly understood and felt part of a community. More specifically, all students at Glasgow College expressed the view that they were developing an understanding and a sense of community, which was also demonstrated by their efforts to follow the UK news. Understanding the host culture and society grew mainly from classroom discussions on relevant topics, as well as from the people – mostly tutors – met at the college. In addition, Suzanna, whose social involvement was connected rather to the local class she had been attending during her pregnancy, reported that her sense of belonging derived from the Scottish and non-Scottish co-volunteers she had formed friendships with:

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<sup>166</sup> Reflecting Bellis and Morrice’s findings (2003:85-86).



*'I've made friends with other volunteers, some are Scottish and some are asylum seekers.'*

Suzanna

Similarly, students in the Chinese Family Centre perceived the learning of the language as a gateway to comprehending and becoming part of the wider community. Holding simple conversations with one's neighbours and feeling more capable of getting out of the house were basic prerequisites for feeling part of society:

*'I can have a simple conversation, speak to the neighbours; I'm more able to get out of the house.'*

Cherry

Being able to increasingly follow the host community's media was for Warren essential, given that they give access to information on topical issues, which in turn can provide a basis for discussion with other people. Nonetheless, it was not only through the language skills obtained that the class endorsed a feeling of belonging. It was also through offering a vital opportunity to make friends whether in the class or by providing information on social events and activities the students could participate in:

*'The teacher tells us about social events and other people come to the centre to tell us about things happening. I've made friends and it's very important.'*

Cherry

Interviewees in the Refugees' Learning Centre reported that the class offered them a slightly better understanding of the host community, and as a result a more positive image of Scottish society. They said that they felt better able to hold simple conversations with neighbours and were more willing to meet English-speaking people. Their interest in the host community can also be seen in their effort to follow the British media. Nevertheless, unlike the students from the organizations above, the students of this class attributed these changes solely to the linguistic skills they had learnt through the class:

*'I can now say hello and speak to the neighbours.'*

Sophie

The Glasgow Connections students also saw the development of better understanding of the host community as stemming from learning the English language. At the same time though, these students had all highlighted the importance of having met people through the class and the effect this had on their sense of community. This is not

surprising given the social emphasis given in this course. However, apart from friendships made within the class, students of the Glasgow Connections were very keen to meet other people in different contexts, such as other parents from their children’s school. Interestingly, when asked about their sense of identity, the interviewees in both classes of the Glasgow Connections did not refer to the wider community in general, but to their local communities:

*‘I’ve made friends; I feel part of [name of area].’*

Yildiz



## 8.8 Impact of the Educational Experience – Tutors

### 8.8.1 Perceptions of Impact of Tutors' Work

This section moves from examining the ways through which a class can endorse students' social involvement to the second research question, that is exploring the ways in which political and pedagogical cultures influence the social outcomes of an educational experience. Having considered the impact of the educational experience on students' lives, it is interesting to examine how the tutors perceived their role as social actors – what impact they believed their work had on their students as well as on the wider community. Moreover, it was important to see whether their perceptions of their role actually reflected the impact that their work had on their students' lives.

Like all Glasgow tutors, the interviewees from Glasgow College concentrated on the effect their work had on their immediate students. This included help with practical problems, as well as help with integration and feeling at home. Apart from making a point of showing that there exist members of the host community who are happy for people like them to be in the UK, the Glasgow College tutors also undertook a more political role by supporting the case of migrants outside the college:

*'I'm not only teaching my students. I feel I have a duty to teach Scottish people as well; about the situation of my students, why they're here, what problems they're facing.'*

Fiona

However, the impact of this educational task was considered to be restricted by the wider social context.

Similarly, the tutors in the Chinese Family Centre viewed their role mainly as helping their immediate students. This support was multifaceted and, apart from language instruction, it included:

*'...make my students happier, help them meet others with similar difficulties so that they realise they're not alone. They're eager to communicate and that's why I want to help them do things.'*

Alice

One can see that there is a greater emphasis on the social aspect in this class, which derived particularly from Alice, the tutor who tried to involve her students in her own

volunteering activities. The other interviewee was more vocal in relation to the all-embracing role that language tutors played, both to the Chinese community and to the wider society as a whole. For her, it was a significant social contribution and she thought that:

*'It's a contribution to society and to the Chinese community ... I am sorry that not many people see that. It's a shame some see it as a special favour to the Chinese.'*

Susie

In contradistinction to the organizations above, where tutors to a greater or lesser extent viewed their role both in relation to their immediate students and the wider society, the tutor in the Refugees' Learning Centre saw his role almost exclusively in relation to his own students. Thus, despite his initial motivation for doing this work – which was to contribute to society in general – George described his role as mainly exhibiting empathy and psychological support to his students. Similarly, only one of the tutors in Glasgow Connections considered herself as playing a socio-political role through her volunteering. Sandie argued:

*'Teaching English was a way of getting involved with the asylum issue. I support other similar organizations as well. I mean, I wanted to show a positive side of Glasgow to those coming here. But I'm not a paid teacher. It's volunteering my time, it's more befriending than teaching.'*

By perceiving her role as that of a befriender, Sandie emphasises once again the social aspect of the class. Moreover, it draws light to the perception of un-hierarchical relations between students and tutors. The other tutor, Catherine, who had claimed to have no social or political motives for embarking on this work, said that her job consisted of teaching the language, providing social and practical support and befriending her immediate students. She did not like the idea of having a role and insisted that:

*'I don't want to have my own agenda but to help them with what they want.'*

Finally, tutors from Glasgow Connections Class A held a different position. Like the tutors in the Refugees' Learning Centre, they denied having any role – both in relation to society and in relation to their students –doubting how much they really helped them:

*'I've not thought about it. At times we're too social. I'm not sure how much we're*



*really helping with English. I don't know.'*

Paul

We therefore see that tutors in Glasgow, and especially the volunteers, fail to appreciate the importance of their role. Instead, they emphasise the social aspect of the class, endorsing the development of bonding capital amongst their students, and underestimate the power relations within the classroom, as well as the impact they have on their students' lives.

## 8.8.2 Endorsing Involvement as Part of Tutors' Role

In view of that, tutors' perception of their role was overwhelmingly concentrated on their immediate students, tackling their practical everyday problems, offering psychological support and aiming to break their social isolation. Having noted the importance attributed to this last aspect, it was necessary to find out if tutors perceived the endorsement of students' social involvement as part of their role and, if so, how they tried to achieve it. Just over half of the tutors in Glasgow thought that they ought to be encouraging their students in becoming socially engaged. Forms of student social participation endorsed by these tutors included establishing greater contact and relationship amongst classmates, attending wider social events or even actively participating in them.<sup>167</sup>

Both tutors in Glasgow College considered this aspect of their role as important, although one of them also said that:

*'It depends on the class dynamics. I wouldn't enforce it.'*

Mary

For this reason, Mary tried to endorse social involvement through encouraging social interaction and the natural development of social networks among classmates. The other college tutor said that whilst teachers always had multiple roles to play, promoting social engagement was all the more important when it came to vulnerable students, as was the case in these particular classes:

*'It's nice if tutors can get involved. They have a number of different roles, especially with our type of students who are in a vulnerable situation.'*

Fiona

In order to achieve this, the college tutors encouraged students to participate in the extra-curricular activities offered by the college but, most importantly, they tried to involve them in group-work and in interactive, student-centred activities within the class. Nevertheless, according to Fiona, this was not sufficient, as she witnessed no real effect on her students who still did not seem to be taking any initiatives to maintain contact outside class-hours:

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<sup>167</sup> For example, a peace concert, Chinese community events, the Refugee Week and multicultural festivals.



*'They tend to leave the class and go home, rather than going for a coffee.'*

She contrasted this behaviour with that of other further education students for whom the college involves both education and social life. She thus believed that it would be good to turn the college into a community for her students as well. Providing a social space for the students to interact independently of their tutors was for Fiona crucial in making that happen:

*'The thing is that, in Scotland, college involves both education and social life. It would be good to turn the college into a community for these students as well. The problem is the lack of facilities, of a common room for example.'*

The Chinese Family Centre tutors' responses on this matter varied. Thus, although the first tutor considered encouraging students to be socially participative as part of her role, the other tutor disagreed. However, the reason for this disagreement did not lie in the different importance ascribed to this issue by the two tutors. Rather, the reason why the latter tutor said that it could not happen was due to the seriousness attributed to it and the obstacles she saw in implementing it properly. Hence, for Alice social involvement was not just an aim in itself, but also a means for her students to gain confidence. In order to achieve it, she informed them about functions and encouraged them to attend different events:

*'I let them know about events happening and I encourage them to go. For example, last week there was a peace concert with many communities participating, so I told them about it and that it would be good if they went.'*

Some of these activities were within the Chinese community. The tutor was sometimes present herself.

According to the other tutor, letting them know about events was not enough, as students lacked the knowledge and confidence to make the next step by themselves. Nonetheless, this would require a significant amount of time on the part of the tutor, which she could not afford. Moreover, she said that many of the students also had limited spare time and therefore any such activities would need to take place within the two-hour class slot:

*'The problem is, do I have the time? If I introduce them to something, then I have to take them there and act as an interpreter. But neither I nor the students have the time*

*for that.'*

Susie

Similarly, the Refugees' Learning Centre tutor viewed the endorsement of social involvement as happening through extra-curricular activities for which he had neither the time nor the funds. George still viewed that:

*'It's not fair to learn English just to use it in shops.'*

Moreover, he wished his students interacted more with one another. He had hoped that the student-centred methods he employed – like casual conversation, group work and learning games – would have created a social network for the students, which they could use as a first step in breaking their isolation and becoming more socially involved. However, for reasons he could not explain this had not happened. Nevertheless, contributing towards the above was not considered to be part of his role as a tutor anyway. Rather, he said, it should be undertaken by the wider organization and by people specialised in performing this role.

Tutors in Glasgow Connections held divergent views on the topic, although most of them did encourage their students to become more participative both inside and outside the classroom. The tutors in Glasgow Connections Class A claimed to inform their students about prospective events and to exhort independent student contact outwith class hours. On a more daily basis though, they endorsed interaction with classmates through group activities and informal discussions that were taking place during the lesson:

*'The social thing is really important in this class. A formal class is not what they want or need anyway. I remember when I was an adult learner myself. Plus the situation people are in, they've got very difficult lives, I just want to make it a bit nicer.'*

Jane

Nonetheless, Jane added that the reason why she endorsed the social aspect of the class was not because it was her responsibility as a tutor and said that if it were done for this reason it would be 'cold'. On the contrary, she encouraged her students' participation:

*'As a human, as a friend.'*



Interestingly, Catherine, from Glasgow Connections Class B, who had claimed to have no social or political motive in tutoring asylum seekers and refugees, said that the endorsement of involvement in the form of creating a community was part of her role as an ESOL tutor. However, she did not explain how she endeavoured to achieve it and, besides, she argued that it would be better if those tutors who encouraged social engagement came from the same community as the students. Lastly, it is important to note that Sandie, the only tutor of the Glasgow Connections who rejected the notion of encouraging students' involvement as part of the tutor's role, was the interviewee whose initial motive behind volunteering was to become involved with the asylum issue. She reported that:

*'It's not my job. I haven't really thought about it. All the students here have children and their participation is through them. I don't think it's my role.'*

The above indicates that, although all tutors appreciated the importance of facilitating students' social involvement, almost half of them considered it not to be part of their role as an ESOL tutor. The reasons for that were either of practical nature,<sup>168</sup> or were based on perceptions of what functions and responsibilities are or are not included in the second language tutor's role. Nonetheless, it is very interesting to notice that more than half of the tutor interviewees in Glasgow at different points of the interview – and without necessarily having been asked a question directly on the topic – replied by stating what was *not* included in their role:

*'I don't want to talk about personal past experiences. This is not my role.'*

Catherine

*'I wish the class helped them to build friendships and to do things together. But it's not the tutor's role.'*

George

This type of response was mostly encountered among the volunteer tutors. Indeed, all volunteer tutors underplayed to a great extent the impact their work had on their students and society in general, either by directly questioning the effects of their work:

*'Not sure how much we're really helping with English. I don't know.'*

Paul

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<sup>168</sup> Like time and funds.

or indirectly by assuming a secondary role in the classroom. For example, by saying:

*'I expect them to run the class themselves. I'm here just to facilitate them.'*

George

Although more confident about it, the issue of the tutor's role and what it incorporates was not straightforward for the professional tutors either. However, they seemed to be more flexible about it. In this manner, one of the tutors in the Chinese Family Centre, when talking about the scope of the curriculum in her class, said that teaching cultural and social issues:

*'wasn't my role, but it has become. So, really, I'm happy about it.'*

Alice

In addition, one of the college tutors commented at the end of the interview how our discussion had been thought provoking:

*'These were good questions. They make you think about your role.'*

Fiona

From comparing the impact that the educational experience has on students with the tutors' perception of their role, one can notice that tutors in Glasgow – and especially the volunteers – are largely underestimating the effects of their work. Furthermore, the great majority perceives their work as having an impact on their immediate students and disregard any wider socio-political implications. This indicates that tutors in Glasgow – and particularly the volunteers – are unaware of adult education's tradition and responsibility in endorsing citizenship (e.g. Field & Bron, 2001; Martin, 2000; Rasmussen, 2004; Tobias, 2000), as well as of the literature that encourages educators to be more conscious of their role (e.g. Dekeyser, 2001; Pillinger, 2000; Thompson, 2002; Mayo, 2000; Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999; Annette, 2004).

Although they want to endorse social participation, this seems to be restricted to conventional social interaction and the building of bonding social capital, overlooking the importance of bridging social capital and forms of interventionist involvement. Lastly, it is interesting to note that the means through which tutors tried to make their students more socially engaged were participation in extra-curricular activities, but also the social aspect of the class developing through the use of student-centred methodology.



## 8.9 Policy Implications – Tutors

In the final section of tutors' interviews, tutors were asked to comment on the effects of adult education policy on their work. The aim of this section was (i) to gauge the tutors' interest in socio-political issues and (ii) to investigate how much awareness on policy issues and politics exists amongst professional tutors and the wider public.

Six out of nine tutor interviewees commented on adult education policy, most of who concentrated on funding matters. Funding could go towards better accommodation, more provision, childcare facilities, supply of individual student textbooks, tutors' materials, bilingual staff, qualified paid tutors, extra-curricular activities and travel-passes. Identifying these issues, although it derives from tutors' daily practical work, it may also reflect an awareness of concerns discussed widely in the field.

Most interesting was the comment from the college tutor Fiona, who said that:

*'It seems there's going to be less funding in the future. And the worrying thing is that funding is always coloured by politics and the media.'*

Further, there was an argument against the pressure for testing and qualifications

*'The pressure for qualifications and testing and recordings is not good. The students want to learn about life, exams put them off.'*

Alice

## 8.10 Improvements Required – Students

Students were asked to make comments and suggest any changes they would make in relation to their educational experience. The aim of these questions was to offer students a chance to give their opinions, but also to discern how confident they are in voicing their thoughts.

Apart from two interviewees who felt there was no need for improvements in their class, most students' suggestions were confident and reflected those of the tutors. Accordingly, many students asked for more provision, in the form of more hours and more levels. This would be vital for beginners who are intimidated by more advanced classmates:

*'I would teach different people in different ways. There are many levels in the class. Also the tutor should help us more to move into other higher-level classes.'*

Warren

Furthermore, greatly appreciating the assistance offered by tutors and support staff, they also recommended that more community centres such as theirs should be established in Glasgow. In addition, students of the Refugees' Learning Centre requested better childcare facilities and supply of individual textbooks.

Some students also made recommendations that were not expressed by the tutors. One such proposal was the wish of an interviewee from Glasgow Connections for more discussions on the different cultures represented in the class to be taking place:

*'I would have more grammar, more hours, more money, more talk about culture and Glasgow culture.'*

Maya

Nonetheless, the most interesting suggestion was that of students in Glasgow College. According to them, ESOL students were used to a different educational methodology with stricter teachers who:

*'Make us do the best we can.'*

Andrey

Although he found educational methods in Scotland much more comfortable, as well as appropriate for their children who had been used to working by themselves, they



found it not as suitable for themselves, as they needed not only to learn a new language but also a different way of education.

# CHAPTER 9 – ATHENS INTERVIEWEES' RESPONSES

## 9.1 Purpose of Class – Students

When looking into the Athens students' motives behind starting the second language course, it was found that they were of both instrumental and social nature. For those who had been in the country for a short period of time, learning the language for everyday interaction was an important aim. Nonetheless, the most common response of the interviewees went further. They wanted to learn the language in depth, both in its spoken and in its written form. This was because communicating properly was considered to make their everyday contact with Greek people more comfortable:

*'To feel more comfortably amongst the Greeks'*

Zamira

Interestingly, this response was not given by any interviewee in Glasgow. This difference could be attributed to many possible reasons: among others, to the fact that the student group in Athens had overall spent more time in Greece, but also because, due to the lack of restricting legislation in relation to work permits and the lack of specialised agencies,<sup>169</sup> migrants in Athens interacted with Greeks in a less official manner:

*'My spoken Greek is very good because I've lived here for a long time and I learnt the language at work. But I want to learn to speak and write properly.'*

Adrianna

Furthermore, from an instrumental point of view, a great majority of the interviewees argued that they expected the lessons to improve their work life by increasing their employability:

*'I intend to live in Greece. I want to transfer my degree and work here.'*

Malgosia

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<sup>169</sup> Like NASS.



*‘For work, for a better life in Greece.’*

Erika

Helping children with schoolwork was a further reason for embarking on Greek language learning. In contradistinction to the case of Glasgow, where some students expected the course to teach about the host community, several interviewees in Athens wished to improve their language skills in order to meet Greeks and *through them* to learn about their new society and culture:

*‘I want to meet Greeks and talk with them about all sorts of things.’*

Haşim

Another difference between Glasgow and Athens was that in the latter no interviewee identified the need to socialise as a motive for attending the language class. Similarly though, there was a student who started the class simply because she thought she would enjoy it:

*‘[A friend] told me about it. She had been enjoying the course so I came along and it’s been fun.’*

Irene

In conclusion, the incentive for embarking on second language adult education in Athens was largely vocational. However, there was an equally strong motivation for effective and comfortable communication, which indicates an interest in integration, a willingness to forge collective identities, but also the intention to gain the ability to speak out and defend one’s position and interests – all of these qualities directly linked to social engagement, as well as to the framework for learning for active citizenship.

Table 9.1 Students’ Motives for Attending the Class

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Communicating comfortably with Greeks (7 responses)</li><li>• Assisting with work (7 responses)</li><li>• Enable practical everyday communication (7 responses)</li><li>• Meeting Greeks (7 responses)</li><li>• Assisting children with homework (7 responses)</li><li>• Enjoying the course (7 responses)</li></ul> |
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## 9.2 Purpose of Class – Tutors

The reasons of the Athens tutors for doing this work were quite different from those put forward by their counterparts in Glasgow. Besides, they were much more divided among the diverse organizations than was the case in Glasgow. Thus, the professional tutors' motives were not linked in any way to active citizenship, whilst all volunteer tutors had socio-political motives for engaging in this work.

The interviewees working in the Athens Vocational Centre reported that they chose to teach this particular student group because they perceived it as a challenge, which in turn offered them a great deal of personal satisfaction. Even more important though, was the financial reward:

*'My main reason was financial. A second reason was the challenge to come in contact with these people – the foreigners.'*

Sotiris

Personal satisfaction was a motive also for the tutor in the Polish Cultural Centre. Equally significant for her was the joy she got out of teaching:

*'I enjoy it and it also offers me satisfaction.'*

Iwona

In contradistinction, the tutors of Integration and the Alliances Social Centre had socio-political motives for volunteering. Like the tutor of the Glasgow Refugees' Learning Centre, one of the interviewees in Integration was a recently retired person:

*'I was looking for something to do. I'm retired now. I saw an advert for volunteer teachers on the paper and I liked the idea. So, here I am.'*

Antonia

The other tutor of Integration was a supporter of the idea of volunteerism and in the past had taken part in other voluntary activities and groups. His involvement with teaching Greek had been the most lasting one as he really enjoyed it.

The tutors in the Alliances Social Centre took an overtly political stance and their motivation was correspondingly political. Their wider aims were coexistence and acceptance among all communities. Thus, both of the interviewees from this



organization said that the reason for doing this work was to actively show solidarity towards migrants:

*'It's volunteer work. I do it because of a feeling of solidarity towards migrants and because of my political principles.'*

Danai

From the above, we see that the endorsement of students' social involvement was not a major concern for the professional tutors in Athens, whilst volunteer tutors had an interest in a more interventionist form of migrants' citizenship than any tutor interviewee in Glasgow. One would therefore expect that their practice would be equally divided with the latter paying more attention to issues exhorting students to be more socially engaged.

## 9.3 Teaching and Curriculum – Tutors

### 9.3.1 Scope of Curriculum

The different motives among tutors in Athens were reflected in the scope of the curriculum. Thus the ones who had a socio-political interest in their work, had a broader understanding of curriculum, which informed students about social issues and engaged in the critical exploration of ideas – necessary for practising active citizenship. However, it was not only in the scope of curriculum that the Athens tutors were divided, but also in relation to the reasons behind their respective choices and the value they ascribed to any non-linguistic element of the class.

The Athens Vocational Centre tutors focused to a great extent on language teaching:

*‘[The curriculum is restricted to language teaching] to a large extent, but it’s not an end in itself.’*

Dimitris

The set curriculum, aiming at students accessing support services and integrating in the labour market, included elements of the Greek culture and described varied social situations. Given that including these elements in the class was prescribed and not the choice or conscious effort of the individual tutor, it was not surprising to find that tutors in the Athens Vocational Centre offered no real justification for including them:

*‘Well, it’s like texts in the course-book, we read them and may talk about them.’*

Sotiris

Despite the state’s funding requirement that the curriculum is delivered in a communicative and student-centred manner, the tutors did not move beyond the teaching of culture and society in a didactic style. As a result, neither time nor importance were really attributed to this element of the curriculum:

*‘The thing is that there are restrictions of time, and also there’s the heterogeneity of the students’ language understanding. So, we need to concentrate on the more important items. We give them information about the history and the culture of Greece but we don’t spend too much time on it.’*

Dimitris



The tutor in the Polish Cultural Centre chose to concentrate on language teaching too:

*'[The class] is almost exclusively restricted to language learning.'*

Iwona

She usually included a lesson that related to Greek culture once every six sessions in order to assist with students' understanding of the host community. Nonetheless, she perceived it as a secondary ingredient of the class, which she left out if there had been insufficient progress in the core linguistic elements:

*'What's important now, is that the students learn to speak.'*

Iwona

Integration and the Alliances Social Centre had a completely different approach to curriculum. Although attention was given to language to a large extent – which was even more the case in beginners' classes – many social elements entered the classroom. Inclusion of these elements was intentional and the tutors of these organizations perceived them as vital elements of the class. Thus, as soon as basic communicative competence was acquired by students, the tutors enriched the curriculum with discussions about Greek culture and topical issues. They also gave advice about the functioning of the Greek state and society and discussed Greek history and politics. On a different level, students were encouraged to also talk about personal issues and – in the Alliances Social Centre – about their countries of origin.

One reason why the Integration tutors were interested in widening the scope of the curriculum to include the above socio-cultural issues was to assist their students' everyday function in Greek society. Being aware of topical issues – and having the wider knowledge in order to be able to interpret them – was seen as key in establishing relationships with Greeks but also in keeping safe – especially for those not in possession of legal documents:

*'We talk a lot. From recipes to politics... There was a rally last week and I used it as a discussion topic. Now it's the forthcoming elections. Also, regarding the 17<sup>th</sup> of November,<sup>170</sup> we discussed about its history, so that they know and also so that they don't go out on that day, especially if they don't have papers.'*

Antonia

The second reason, which was of equal importance and was shared by all volunteer tutors in Athens, was to encourage students to socialise and build relationships among themselves:

*'The subject-matter is communication and getting to know one another.'*

Anna

Tutors in the Alliances Social Centre used this curriculum on one level to assist students' practical everyday life, but also to help them integrate. They aimed to help people have meaningful communication, and exchange experiences, feelings and culture. They did not explain Greek culture and society. Instead, they favoured the discussion of culture and society in general, drawing from the students' experiences in their countries of origin. At the same time, these elements were also considered to be a motive for learning itself:

*'[These elements of the class] make our communication more substantial and it's also a motive for learning for the students. It gives them the opportunity to widen their experiences and could help in their incorporation.<sup>171</sup>*

Danai

From the above, we see some salient differences between the responses of the Glasgow and the Athens interviewees in relation to curriculum and its use for encouraging social involvement. First of all, in Athens there was much more concentration on language teaching at the expense of teaching about the culture or society in which it was situated. A reason for that must be partly the complexity of Greek grammar, which makes it more difficult to command the basics that enable everyday communication. Moreover, the tradition of didactic methodology (Kokkos, 2005) has

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<sup>170</sup> The commemoration of the anniversary of the Polytechnic Uprising of 1973 against military rule. The day always ends with a demonstration, which is often followed by riots. For this reason in the days around that date there is heavy police presence on the streets. This date has also been used as the name of a terrorist group in Greece.

<sup>171</sup> The term used was incorporation – *ensomatosi* (ενσωμάτωση) instead of integration – *entaksi* (ένταξη), which the interviewee had used a few minutes before. It highlights the interchangeable use of these terms, which most often remain undefined.



allowed only recently the liberal, communicative methodology to be used in language teaching. Another difference was that in Athens there was less focus on using the class as a means for creating a community. This was partly because there is no form or tradition of outreach education taking place in the local community, but also because communitarian ideas have not taken root in Greece. Instead, a more openly political position is favoured (Rolheiser, 1997:50-53; Papadopoulou, 1997:54-55).

There is a great difference in the way politics was treated in the two cities. Rather than being something neglected or consciously avoided, those tutors who did widen the scope of the curriculum to include non-linguistic elements perceived politics as a necessary ingredient of the class. Again, this difference could be seen as the result of political and educational culture, given that in Greece politics is much more commonly discussed and thus it was not perceived as an effort on the part of the tutor to indoctrinate their students.

### 9.3.2 Textbooks and Materials

At this point we need to examine whether tutors in Athens were using materials relevant to their students' lives, which could lead to the exploration of ideas and the generation of really useful knowledge. Moreover, it is important to explore to what degree students were developing a voice through being involved in the choices over materials and curriculum.

Five out of the seven interviewees in Athens claimed to use a particular book as core textbook. The tutors in the Athens Vocational Centre had no choice over which course-book to use as their students had to sit examinations at the end of the year. Therefore, they were required to use the state-appointed textbook for these qualifications. This book, like all other textbooks used by Greek tutors targeted adult migrants and was thus appropriate for the particular target group:

*'I use the state-appointed textbooks. They deal with grammar and they also have texts for the understanding of various social situations.'*

Dimitris

Although this book was used as the main resource from which the curriculum developed, Sotiris argued that:

*'I try to take advantage of my students' experiences, which by themselves are a resource for learning and discussion. I also use materials from other textbooks and things I create myself for this class.'*

Sotiris

Despite this claim of using students' experiences as material for learning and discussion, students' input to the content of the class was restricted:

*'To a very small degree, to the point of none.'*

Sotiris

Any student input was limited to:

*'Mostly in the way of teaching.'*

Dimitris



The tutor in the Polish Cultural Centre was free to shape the curriculum and choose the appropriate materials. She mostly used a particular second language education textbook, which set the structure of the course. In addition, she used materials from a variety of other textbooks. She would have liked to incorporate in her lessons real materials as well, but as her class was at beginners' level, she felt that she should wait until students' linguistic skills improved. Furthermore, she said that while she was open for feedback from her students in relation to the content or the methodology she employed, the students:

*'...haven't expressed any different opinions yet'.*

Ywona

Although this could be true, it could also be the case that, as Paul from Glasgow Connections commented,<sup>172</sup> the students would not feel confident or willing to express a different opinion.

As the Integration tutors were the only ones in the Athens sample who had no teaching background, another tutor – who was also their trainer – made the decision on which core textbook was to be used. The specific book targeted non-Greek residents in Athens and, unlike the textbooks used in the Athens Vocational Centre and the Polish Cultural Centre, it followed an overtly communicative approach. Additionally, the tutors in Integration used tasks from other books and created their own material for the class, using real materials, cartoons and audiovisual aids. Those in the beginners' level had very limited input in the class content or methodology – although most of them communicated easily with the tutor in English. However, the tutor of the intermediate class reported that:

*'I ask them what they want. If some subject comes up in the class, we talk about it for as much as they want. Especially because they say they want to do more practice in speaking.'*

Antonia

The tutors in the Alliances Social Centre, like their counterparts in Glasgow, were the only ones who did not generate their curriculum from a core textbook. Instead they created their own material according to what they wanted to teach, collected activities from a variety of textbooks and used real material, including songs and literature.

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<sup>172</sup> See Chapter 8.3.

Similarly to the case of Integration, the students in the beginners' level did not have an input in the content or method of the lessons:

*'At this moment what guides me is their linguistic level and the language they need for everyday life. My aim for now is that they develop communicative speech.'*

Danai

The students of the more advanced levels though had a significant say in choices about the class. Hence, not only they generated subjects for discussion, but they would also ask for particular topics to be covered or they would bring in their own materials – an input similar only to that of the Glasgow Connections' students:

*'Sometimes they bring texts. Or they might ask for a certain song or for a subject to be discussed.'*

Anna

We see that tutors in Greece had more appropriate resources available for their students, due to the large number of second language course-books having been published in recent years. In addition, like tutors in Glasgow, they would complement the course-book curriculum with real materials, which would give students a more realistic view of life in Greece and which could also generate discussions on topics linked to Greek society and culture. In relation to giving voice to students on course issues, although all tutors in Athens were open for feedback, it was only the volunteer tutors, and particularly the tutor in the advanced level of the Alliances Social Centre that actively encouraged students to contribute to the shaping of the curriculum.



## 9.4 Teaching and Curriculum – Students

The correlation observed between the tutors' and students' responses in relation to the value attributed to an expanded curriculum in Glasgow was also apparent in Athens. Accordingly, students in the Athens Vocational Centre said that there were a wide variety of topics discussed in their classroom. These topics included elements of the Greek culture, information about bureaucratic and legal procedures and their everyday lives. Moreover, since the course was full-time, students got to know one another quite well and as a result issues related to their home countries and elements of their personal lives also entered the classroom – although not as part of the lesson.

As the course curriculum aimed at the students' social inclusion, the students perceived the purpose of these discussions as their:

*'Adaptation to Greek reality and culture.'*

Mila

Two out of the three student interviewees in the Athens Vocational Centre considered the knowledge of Greek society they gained from these discussions to be important:

*'You get to learn what is generally happening in the country that you live. It's good.'*

Zamira

Another student though said that:

*'I've never thought about it.'*

Elena

This uncertain remark could maybe be seen as a possible reflection on the tutors' limited contemplation on the issue since these topics were raised in the class – not as a conscious choice of the tutors, neither as a separate element – but merely as part of the prescribed curriculum.

The answers of the Polish Cultural Centre students in relation to the scope of the curriculum varied. Three of the interviewees claimed to talk about everything. Yet when probed further, they mostly referred to Greek culture, with most common examples the traditional Greek diet and the ancient civilisation – topics that relate to a stereotypical idea of Greekness rather than to actual contemporary ways of life. Issues relating to their personal life and their country of origin were also mentioned.

However, despite acknowledging the value of these discussions in increasing their knowledge about Greek society and helping in their everyday life, all three of these interviewees attributed a secondary position to these elements in relation to the more traditional curriculum:

*'Grammar is more important. We don't talk about other things as often.'*

Erika

Diverging from this view, a fourth interviewee from the Polish Cultural Centre argued that there were not really any discussions on the above issues. Personal issues and their home country were rather discussed during breaks, whilst culture entered the classroom in the form of practising reading and speaking. On top of that, there was no need for discussing such things given that all attention should concentrate on the:

*'Particularly difficult language.'*

Malgosia

Contrary to the above cases, the interviewees of Integration said they had many discussions in the class. Issues that related to the state, Greek culture, their countries of origin and their daily and personal life were all mentioned. Particular attention was given to topical issues:

*'For example, we talked about the 17th of November. Before I thought it was just a terrorist organization. We now talk about the forthcoming elections.'*

Tudor

This was the first class throughout the study where topical political issues were being openly discussed. Greek politics but also the micropolitics of their communities in Athens and the contemporary political history of Greece were topics the students mentioned. These discussions were very important in helping them understand the host community. In addition, during the interviews all of the students seemed comfortable – in a manner unseen in previous interviewees – in generating discussions and giving their opinion on openly political issues relating to Greece<sup>173</sup> and their home regional politics.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> For example, terrorism.

<sup>174</sup> For example, Russia's attempt at cultural colonisation of the ex-Soviet countries.



It is important to note that the way culture was perceived and discussed included both a historical and a contemporary approach, and it referred to both 'high' and 'popular' culture.<sup>175</sup> In addition, Greek past and contemporary 'popular' culture was discussed and was seen side by side with the culture in the students' countries of origin:

*'We talk about museums we have visited with the class, about Greek everyday life and then we talk about similar things in our country.'*

Eugen

As a result, the curriculum, rather than just informing about the host community's culture, led to a critical understanding of it.

The students in the Alliances Social Centre also drew their discussions from a variety of topics, which included Greek culture – contemporary or past, their countries and social realities that affected them:

*'We talk about Greek culture. We also talk a lot about our country and things about our everyday life.'*

Raed

One student of this organization<sup>176</sup> was the only person in both Athens and Glasgow, who made a recommendation as to what he would add in the curriculum. Haşim said:

*'I always want something new, and I want to speak about topical issues. I want to learn how Greeks live, what Greeks think about foreigners. Do you support a party? What about the KKE?'<sup>177</sup> I need to learn about such things and the class is the only place where I can.'*

The purpose of these discussions for the students were to help them feel more comfortable in the country, to gain sufficient linguistic skills that would enable effective communication with Greeks on socio-political issues, to learn how Greeks think and to teach the tutors about their own background. These discussions were considered to be valuable elements of the class:

*'[The class discussions are] very important for learning how Greeks think. The tutor*

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<sup>175</sup> From archaeology to contemporary daily lifestyles.

<sup>176</sup> From the beginners' class.

<sup>177</sup> Greek Communist Party

One of the interviewees, nonetheless, made a critical comment about discussing about the students' countries in the class and about the tutors' efforts to create a community among the students. Irene said that:

*'Migrants are excluded and they just accept it. This focus reinforces their exclusion by making them move within their own circles. The class should make them come out of that circle.'*

This is a very important point that could apply to all classes in the study and was articulated by the student interviewee who seemed to be the most integrated in the host society.<sup>178</sup> Perhaps, it relates more to the Greek context, where lack of integration – even lack of assimilation – leads to marginalisation (Courtovic, 1997:47-49). Nonetheless, as we saw in Chapter 4.1.2, Scottish culture can be just as exclusive (Kennedy, 2002:117-130; Qureshi, 2002:129). This point could therefore be of concern for the Scottish tutors too.

It is interesting to note that whilst in Glasgow it was the volunteers who were more reticent in involving the students in a dialogical discussion about the host community's culture – mostly due to fear of imposing their views on them, in Athens it was the exact opposite. The same was the case about topical issues, which in Athens were much more politicised than in Glasgow. This different approach to curriculum can help illuminate how socio-cultural and educational traditions influence the socio-political outcomes of the educational experience.

The most straight-forward explanation for this divergent approach is cultural, given that the only Greek tutors<sup>179</sup> not discussing topical issues were the Athens Vocational Centre tutors who followed a prescribed curriculum with functionalist aims formulated specifically for sitting the state examinations for Greek.<sup>180</sup> Thus, one could argue that the centrality of political debates in the Greek culture makes it easier for them to enter the classroom. Furthermore, as volunteerism is not common in Greece,

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<sup>178</sup> She was the only student interviewee living with a partner from the host community.

<sup>179</sup> This term refers here to the tutors raised in Greece – rather than tutors of Greek – and thus does not include the Polish tutor of the community centre.

<sup>180</sup> Reflecting the governmental functionalist educational policies and directions (Karalis & Vergidis, 1994:181-184).



the ones who are involved in it have strong socio-political drives. This certainly enhances the possibility that such issues will become topics for discussion. On a different level, the stronger tradition of liberal adult education in Scotland (Bryant, 1984; Hamilton & Slowey, 2005) and the particular current popularity of Rogerian ideas favour a focus on the cultural and social but avoid the more overtly political. It could be therefore concluded that both cultural and educational factors play a role on the degree and the ways in which social involvement is endorsed through the curriculum.

## 9.5 Extra-Curricular Activities – Tutors

Extra-curricular activities, which openly exhorted students to be socially participative, were taking place in three out of the four organizations in Athens. To a greater or lesser extent, the tutors of all organizations expressed the view that these activities could be of value. The tutor in the Polish Cultural Centre was the only one who had not arranged any such activities. Nonetheless, she acknowledged the value of extra-curricular activities and said that she was considering organising a visit to an archaeological site or to the theatre. However, as discussed in the section above, the acquisition of better linguistic skills was currently her priority:

*'It would be valuable to do such things, like going to the theatre, go on a conducted tour to a[n archaeological] site, but we haven't done any such activities yet. But, I do hope to start them in the future when their Greek is a bit better.'*

Iwona

According to this tutor, the aims of such activities – when they materialise – would be both educational and social and should be organised in partnership between the tutor and the students.

The inclusion of extra-curricular activities in the Athens Vocational Centre course was a prescribed element of the curriculum and therefore students' attendance was expected. Activities were organised two or three times a year:

*'The course coordinator arranges visits to cultural sites, like museums and archaeological sites. He also arranges visits to public services or worksites to help students' integration and employability.'*

Sotiris

These visits were meant to introduce topics, which were later followed by discussions in the classroom. These discussions related to cultural and vocational issues, and were mainly of an educational nature.

Integration offered the widest variety and greatest frequency of extra-curricular activities to its students. Apart from visits to museums and archaeological sites, the students also went to the theatre, went out to eat and were invited to parties held at the main offices – together with volunteers from all other sectors of the organization. Through these activities students not only learnt new aspects of the host culture, but also got a chance to socialise among themselves and with members of the host



community. Although it was the tutors – and in some cases the organization – who arranged most of these outings, the students had a say and often made propositions that were then taken further by the tutors. Students in this organization were very keen for such activities to be taking place and they very eagerly attended all of them:

*'[We go to] museums, the Acropolis, Sounio. Students are also invited to any parties held by the organisation. It is us that don't have the time; they want to do such things very much and they always come, all of them.'*

Manolis

The tutors of the Alliances Social Centre arranged extra-curricular activities with the help of their students' advice. These activities took place two or three times a year and most of the students attended. Some of these activities – such as excursions to archaeological sites or museums – had a more cultural direction, whilst others – such as parties – were rather social and recreational. These parties were not organised only for the language students but were open to all supporters of the organization, whether that was migrants or members of the host community. The rationale behind these activities was that they could enhance social contact and communication amongst people. Nonetheless, the ultimate purpose was actually to promote the integration of the two communities.

*'We do that a few times a year, teachers and students together. We hope that it helps communication and integration but also that people have a good time.'*

Danai

Furthermore, as the building in which the classes were being held was where the organization was based, students would come across preparations of activities campaigning for migrants' rights. As a result, tutors noted that some students were also getting involved in the campaigning. Finally, at the time of the interviews, supporters of the organization were working on turning one room of the building into a social centre, where both migrants and members of the host community could socialise. Tutors expected this to make a big difference in students' social life.

There are some noteworthy differences between the extra-curricular activities in the two cities. In Athens there was no equivalent to the women's groups held by the Glasgow Connections. Two reasons can be suggested in relation to that. First, the students in Athens, due to work commitments, had much more restricted time than the students in Glasgow who tended to be stuck in their houses and who yearned for organised activities in which they could participate. A very different reason though is the fact that Greece does not have a tradition of women's groups or similar community

activities. On the other hand, it is interesting how in Athens it is more common for the students to participate in the arrangements of extra-curricular activities and how these activities – when of a social rather than of an educational nature – were either more mainstream activities<sup>181</sup> or involved members of the host community who were not directly connected with the Greek language classes.<sup>182</sup> These differences between Glasgow and Athens are significant as they endorse divergent patterns of social participation, the first developing through bonding social capital and the latter through bridging social capital.

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<sup>181</sup> Like going to the theatre or to a tavern.

<sup>182</sup> At the parties of Integration and the Alliances Social Centre.



## 9.6 Extra-Curricular Activities – Students

Like in Glasgow, students' levels of contact with classmates, participation in extra-curricular activities and interest in such events differed from organization to organization. All interviewees in the Athens Vocational Centre said that they had a very good relationship with their classmates and, indeed, that they had formed good friendships. An important reason that contributed to that was their daily contact in the classroom as the course was full-time.<sup>183</sup> Accordingly, when interviewees were asked about the contact they had with classmates outwith class hours, they said that they were in touch over the phone and that, with some of them, they met up frequently:

*'I've met people with whom we hang out and have become friends.'*

Elena

These outings were organised by the students themselves, who were eager to be meeting up more often – whether that was independently or with the whole class as a group:

*'I would like social events and trips'*

Zamira

Interestingly, none of the three student interviewees mentioned participating in the extra-curricular activities referred to by their tutors.<sup>184</sup> This could indicate that either these activities were in reality very rare – especially in comparison to the frequent meetings that they arranged independently – or that they were not of a social nature and thus were purely seen as a part of the lesson, which did not allow for any further interaction than the normal classroom setting.

Two out of the four students in the Polish Cultural Centre had occasional contact with certain classmates over the phone. Yet, none of them had ever had any face-to-face

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<sup>183</sup> This, however, was not the case in Glasgow College, where students were also full-time – although this involved many less hours than the full-time course in Athens. One major difference was that students in the Athens Vocational Centre had work/residence permits for a substantial length of time, which enabled them to make plans for life in Greece. The class in Glasgow College, on the other hand, consisted mostly of asylum seekers, who – as we saw in Chapter 8.7.2 – due to their legal status could not make future plans and establish themselves in the community.

<sup>184</sup> The interviews with the students took place before those with their tutors and therefore there was no prior knowledge that extra-curricular activities were a component of their course. Thus, they were not probed specifically about it.

contact outside class hours. They claimed that, although ideally it would be nice to have some interaction with classmates, it was not realistic. Given that the class is an evening course and they finished late, they all had to go home straight after. In relation to extra-curricular activities, again they did not consider it to be possible both because of their own and because of their tutor's work and family commitments:

*'The class finishes late and we need to be going home afterwards. The tutor has no much time either.'*

Erika

The situation in Integration was quite different. Students of this class met from time to time as a group for a variety of activities, which had either an educational or a social purpose:

*'We do things together, but not very often. This year we have been to the Benaki museum, to the Acropolis, to a party of [Integration], and a couple of times for souvlaki.'*

Nicoleta

Although these activities were mostly organised by their tutors, the students contributed to their tutors' decisions and had also started initiating and organising such outings themselves.<sup>185</sup> They were very keen on these meetings, whether primarily educational or entirely social, and were eager for more of them to be taking place. This is proved by their full attendance in every such occasion:

*'Whenever we arrange to do something everyone comes along.'*

Tudor

Similarly two out of the three student interviewees in the Alliances Social Centre had also participated in a variety of activities, which were either educational, social or both:

*'We've been to the theatre and have taken a daytrip to Agistri. And there have also been parties in the centre.'*

Raed

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<sup>185</sup> Eating out.



Moreover, students had contact with individual people they had become friends with, including one of their tutors. All three students said that they were very eager to participate in more events like this, and even the student who, due to not having been in the course for long, had not taken part in any extra-curricular activity yet, said that:

*'It would be super!'*

Irene

Both in Glasgow and Athens, we can observe the pattern that the more effort tutors put into extra-curricular activities, the more the students were interested in participating in them. Moreover, when tutors involved the students in decision-making over such activities, the students started initiating the organisation of similar events<sup>186</sup> or outings themselves.<sup>187</sup>

There was an overall greater contact established among the students in Athens, whether that was arranged by them or by their tutors/organizations in the form of extra-curricular activities. Besides, there was generally more enthusiasm among the students in Athens in relation to such activities, although the focus tended to lie rather on the social, and not on the educational, aspect of them. There can be no easy explanation for this difference between the two cities. Given that the primary barrier for students in Glasgow was limited time due to family duties, and taking into consideration that the students in Athens had both family duties and long working hours, it is difficult to say why the latter were not constrained in the same way by their limited time. This is all the more surprising if one takes into consideration the fact that meeting people and socialising was a major motivation for the students in Glasgow embarking on their course, when it was not an issue for the Athens students.

Some explanations that could be suggested are the different background of students in the two cities, and the fact that many of the Glasgow students had very young children. One might also think that either in Glasgow even the most socially isolated migrants are reached by ESOL provision, or that migrants in Scotland face much higher levels of social exclusion than those in Greece.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> For example, the International Women's Night at the Glasgow Connections.

<sup>187</sup> Like the Integration students eating out together.

<sup>188</sup> One might say that this is evident because many of the students in Glasgow are asylum seekers with no safe legal status. This is, though, similarly the case in Athens, where students might have been undocumented or live with the fear of not getting their permits renewed.

## 9.7 Impact of the Educational Experience – Students

### 9.7.1 The Personal Level

When exploring whether students had experienced any life changes that they considered being an outcome of the course and which could be affecting their social involvement, it was found that all Athens student interviewees had become more confident. The most evident effect of the lessons in their social life was the ability to communicate and therefore to feel more confident in asking for information and making enquiries:

*'My Greek is better now and I feel it is easier to ask people on the street and to meet new people.'*

Nicoleta

Moreover, students in the Athens Vocational Centre, Integration and the Alliances Social Centre said that they felt more confident in discussing matters with officials and in speaking up when they felt they were not being treated fairly:

*'People can't make a fool of us any more. We understand the language and we can speak up.'*

Tudor

Also students were better able:

*'To express myself better, to express my opinions like I would do in my own language.'*

Irene

Another outcome, also commonly brought up by students in Glasgow, was increased confidence in meeting new people. For almost all students, apart from those of the community centre, it had become easier to meet new people, including people from other backgrounds. According to a student of the Alliances Social Centre:

*'I am more open because we are being made to speak to one another in the class.'*

Irene

Almost all students in the Athens Vocational Centre and the Polish Cultural Centre reported they had now become more confident in moving into further learning. Also students in the Athens Vocational Centre and Integration raised the issue of work:



*'[The class] helps with work because I know the trade, but I don't know the language.'*

Eugen

It was only students from the Athens Vocational Centre, however, who claimed that their future plans had been influenced by their educational experience. One of them said:

*'I wish to learn a trade that is useful in Greece so that I can find a good job. Or to work with the job that I have now, that is as a musician.'*

Elena

The other interviewee was also much more confident and she now believed that:

*'I will manage to learn Greek in order to become a citizen of this country.'*

Mila

The above supports Bron's finding (2003:618) that second language and culture adult education has an immense contribution towards migrants' social involvement. We see that students in Athens were becoming more confident in speaking out and more conscious social actors than their counterparts in Glasgow. The only class where no interviewee mentioned becoming more assertive through the course was that in the Polish Cultural Centre. Perhaps this was due to the limited discussions of social and cultural issues and the lack of extra-curricular activities taking place in that time. This explanation would support the idea put forward in the framework of Chapter 2.1.2, according to which, in order to endorse active citizenship through adult education, there should be a critical exploration of social realities and values, gaining of political knowledge, formulation of arguments and development of a sense of agency – qualities that require openness in the curriculum and participation in decisions about the content and other activities.

### **9.7.2 The Community Level**

All Athens Vocational Centre students claimed to have a greater understanding of and interest in Greek culture and society as a result of the class:

*'I now see some things very clearly. I understand that in Greece, like everywhere, there are many problems. Paradise doesn't exist anywhere. To find a place under the*

*sun you have to work hard and to fight.'*

Mila

Additionally, they now felt more at ease in their new society. The easier and more comfortable communication achieved through the attained linguistic skills had had a strong impact on their social life:

*'I learnt many useful words and the communication with people became more easy and comfortable.'*

Mila

A further important accomplishment was:

*'I am better able to express my opinions, which I now do express.'*

Zamira

This ability is of great importance as it gave students a voice of their own. Furthermore, better understanding of newspapers, literature and songs' lyrics had enabled the interviewees to get a more genuine insight into the host community's culture:

*'Now I can understand something from the Greek books and many more lyrics from the songs.'*

Elena

Nonetheless, it was not only through the improvement of language skills that the class contributed towards students' understanding and interest on the wider society. As an interviewee explained, also of great value were the related class discussions, the exchange of opinions and the sharing of views with other classmates:

*'Exchanging opinions with my classmates has changed my understanding of life.'*

Mila

Although the interest in Greece had not changed for any of the Polish Cultural Centre's students, they all indicated an enhanced feeling of being part of the wider community, due to their improved ability to communicate and follow the Greek media:



*'Social life is easier, especially at work.'*

Adrianna

*'I try to speak, I can ask for things and I can follow Greek media.'*

Gizela

One interviewee said that she had gained a clearer understanding of the host community as a result of being able to ask questions in the class about everyday life. Another student, though, complained that such an understanding would not occur just through the class:

*'It won't happen through the lesson. I need Greek in order to meet Greeks and through them to learn the culture. But I hardly know any Greeks.'*

Gizela

Given that students' contact with language tutors tended to be one of their main gateways to the host community,<sup>189</sup> it seems that it would be beneficial for a class to include a member of the host community tutoring the course. At the same time, given that the minoritised community centres' students valued the fact that their tutors shared their language and cultural background, and since research supports the contribution of bilingual teaching (Bellis and Awar, 1995), it seems that co-tutoring by members of the host and the migrant communities could be constructive. Alternatively, the option followed by the Chinese Family Centre in Glasgow, where the tutors were of migrant origin but had themselves been born in the UK, could also offer a better insight into the host community, whilst at the same time catering for the specific linguistic and cultural needs of the student group.

Students in Integration said that the class had generated a great interest and understanding of the host community, which was manifested through the will and ability to better follow the Greek media, rather than just relying on their community newspapers. Apart from the improved language abilities, discussions on social, cultural and political topics had also contributed towards this enhanced understanding:

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<sup>189</sup> See in particular the responses of the Glasgow Connection students on this matter.

*'[I have developed a sense of community] because the class also deals with such topics. Also, we can now follow the news.'*

Tudor

Furthermore, educational extra-curricular activities that had to do with history and popular culture had led to the recognition of commonalities between the students' countries of origin and the receiving society:

*It makes me realise that there are common things between Greece and Moldavia. Things that I saw in the Museum, for example, the loom. We had the same in my village in Moldavia.*

Eugen

Discussions and social extra-curricular activities had also helped create a sense of community for the students, who now felt part of a social group, rather than being isolated individuals. Students knowingly took up Greek customs in their social life:

*'We now even go out and drink frappé.'<sup>190</sup>*

Eugen

Nonetheless, despite these customs, Integration students' sense of belonging referred only to other migrants and not to the wider community as a whole. They socialised almost entirely with other migrants and, as will be discussed later, the migrant community was the community they felt as belonging in:

*'We make friends in the classroom. This is our community.'*

Nicoleta

A better understanding of Greek language and culture, and recognition of the actual similarity between the students' countries of origin and Greece were also put forward by the students in the Alliances Social Centre:

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<sup>190</sup> Type of coffee typical of Greece. Going out for a coffee is also Greeks' most common social activity.



*'We speak the same language ... Duvar, Buz, Bastun.<sup>191</sup> We were the same for how many ... 500 years?<sup>192</sup>*

Haşim

*'I see how people here are like in my country. Syrians and Greeks are actually quite alike.'*

Raed

Furthermore, these students said that they had gained a greater interest in learning about the host community and now made an effort to follow Greek news. To the question on the students' interest in the host community, Raed reported:

*'I don't want to keep to myself. Now I speak to my neighbours. I feel more it's my place here.'*

Apart from the actual lessons and the language learnt through them, students suggested that it was also the way the class was being conducted that attributed to this enhanced understanding and interest:

*'The changes are a result of both learning the language and the way the class is given.'*

Raed

Discussions and exchanges of experiences had made students more open to other people.

As it has already been mentioned in a previous section, Irene commented that, as the class drew largely from the students' experiences and less from the host community, it could lead to students' permanent exclusion from society:

*'But in such an environment you learn more about other countries rather than about Greece. You are getting to know the international culture.'*

This is an issue that should be taken into consideration. In all cases where the class had a strong social aspect, the interviewees said they had developed a sense of belonging. However, this was not in the wider society, but within the migrant

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<sup>191</sup> Turkish words also used in Greek.

<sup>192</sup> Under the Ottoman Empire.

community itself. It has already been mentioned that different networks endow less powerful social capital than others (Field, 2001:29). Thus, a migrant community offers its members less influence than a wider community. Nevertheless, it can be argued that even that sense of fringe belonging is a first step in breaking individual isolation and in generating communities that in the future could make socio-cultural or political demands and contributions, and which could eventually break their multifaceted exclusion. Such an example is the fact that all students of the Alliances Social Centre brought up the issue of an anti-racist/pro-legalisation demonstration that was taking place on or near the day that they were being interviewed. Apart from raising the issue, Irene also brought a leaflet she had been given about that demonstration and Haşim invited me to join him in attending it. Therefore, one could consider that the creation of a migrant community and the building of bonding social capital could be a positive step for gaining a voice and for entering the host community's political debate.



## 9.8 Impact of the Educational Experience – Tutors

### 9.8.1 Perceptions of Impact of Tutors' Work

Turning now to the exploration of ways in which political and pedagogical cultures influence the social outcomes of an educational experience, we look into the tutors' perceptions of their role as social actors. The Athens Vocational Centre tutors argued that their role was very important, affecting the wider community as a whole and not only their immediate students. Both tutors in the centre saw the role of the educator in particular, and of social professions in general, as a key function in every society:

*'It is commonly acknowledged that the role of the educator is very important for both education and society as a whole. The educator is the carrier of his country's civilisation as well as being a moral instructor.'*

Sotiris

This approach reflects the historically found perception in Greece of educators as moral mentors (Vergidis, 1992:219; Argiropoulos & Dimitrakis, n.d.). However, this approach ignores the needs and yearnings of the students themselves. Moreover, it puts forward a homogenous perception of culture, which raises serious concerns about endorsing assimilation, a practice that as we have already seen, has been common in Greece's history of encountering the Other (Courtovic, 1997:47-49; Lambrou, 1997:59-61; Onsunoglou, 1997:62-64).

In contradistinction to this approach, the tutor of the Polish Cultural Centre paid no attention to the wider social picture and concentrated on the input her work could have on her immediate students. More specifically, through teaching the language in a friendly atmosphere, the tutor tried to raise her students' confidence. Furthermore, by being approachable in terms of encouraging her students to ask questions, she tried to offer a supportive environment, which could help generate a feeling of security in the host country. According to this tutor, this contribution to her students' psychological well-being was what made her role so important:

*'[My role is] important because I help these people feel confident and secure in Greece.'*

Iwona

The tutors in Integration and the Alliances Social Centre, unlike their professional counterparts, did not see themselves as making a great contribution. To the contrary,

one Integration tutor said that, through the coming together in the class, she was actually benefiting more herself from the students than they were benefiting from her. Still, she did not deny having some sort of impact:

*'I don't offer anything important. I actually take from the guys. Migrants came to stay, so we'd better learn to live together in harmony. It's for them to feel fine here, but also for everyone – Greeks and foreigners – to learn to respect one another.'*

Antonia

Indeed, all four volunteer tutors in Athens viewed their role as impacting both on their immediate students and on the wider community as a whole. Besides, all of these tutors, as a result of their work, perceived themselves as being social actors:

*'It's an active role. I like offering, especially to people that need it.'*

Manolis

Similarly, another volunteer tutor from the Alliances Social Centre reported that:

*'I try to contribute as much as I can to the improvement of the living conditions of this specific group, who face so many problems.'*

Anna

Lastly, aiming at the communities' integration, Danai said:

*'I'm not sure I have a significant role. But I hope that I'm contributing in revealing the less xenophobic and less racist aspects of the Greek culture.'*

Hence, although the tutors of Integration and the Alliances Social Centre were not claiming to have as important a role as their professional counterparts did, they were very specific about what their role was.

From the above one can see that, like in Glasgow, the professional tutors in Athens felt more certain about the contribution they make. Nonetheless, the tutors in Athens, in comparison to those in Glasgow, tended to pay much more attention to the impact their role could have on the wider society, rather than just on their immediate students, and to be more specific in relation to what their role entailed. Lastly, it has to be noted that the pattern noticed among Glasgow tutors, declaring what was not part of their role, was not encountered whatsoever among the Athens interviewees.



### **9.8.2 Endorsing Involvement as Part of Tutors' Role**

Given their perception of having a wider social role, Athens tutors were asked whether they believed they ought to be endorsing students' social involvement as part of their work. All the Athens tutors said that this was an important element of their role and, unlike their counterparts Glasgow, none of them alluded to barriers – such as lack of funds or time – as limiting their ability to implement it. For the Athens Vocational Centre tutors, endorsing students' social participation was:

*'a most important educational element.'*

Sotiris

They said that, in the case of second language learning in particular, it was impossible not to link the taught subject with society:

*'It is impossible to learn and use a language properly unless it is connected with the social everyday life of the host society.'*

Sotiris

As a result they tried to encourage involvement through introducing students into the cultural and social characteristics of the host community. The means through which they tried to achieve this was by:

*'Discussing, showing and teaching cultural and social aspects of life here.'*

Dimitris

However, as mentioned before, their approach tended to have strong assimilationist implications, which would most possibly influence the way this cultural teaching takes place.

The Polish Cultural Centre tutor also believed that her role included the encouraging of students' social participation. Yet, rather than teaching and promoting her own perceptions of the host community's culture and social environment, she thought that this should be attained through discussing social problems, whether generic or particular to the local community. In this way, she supported students in being critical citizens regardless of where they might live. She did not necessarily direct them towards effortlessly fitting in to the host community. In addition to these discussions,

she attributed great value to the tutor acting as a model for students' involvement in society:

*'By giving the example himself.'*

Iwona

The tutors in Integration, despite having students whose social life had grown considerably as a result of the class, had not consciously thought about the issue of encouraging involvement. Thus, although both of them said that it was important and a part of their work to promote their students' social participation, they could not really describe how they actually tried to achieve this:

*'I don't believe in the dry lesson. I don't know what else to say.'*

Antonia

According to the Alliances Social Centre tutors, educators in general should encourage their students' social involvement. Yet, as Danai pointed out, this also depends on the course's aims and objectives:

*'It depends on the educational context of the lessons. Generally speaking, I would say yes.'*

In the case of second language classes, social involvement was an important element of the course, which could be supported in several ways. Accordingly, tutors in the Alliances Social Centre created communication situations, helped in generating social contact among the students and encouraged students to be social outwith the class. More specifically, they used:

*'Talking, reading and commenting on articles from papers, visiting theatres and archaeological sites, and going to demonstrations.'*

Anna

Similarly to the Chinese Family Centre tutor, the tutors in the Alliances Social Centre argued that the educators themselves needed to be involved if they expected to encourage their students' participation. However, as Danai said, this was a difficult task:

*'But the teachers cannot take this up just by themselves. Nor should they.'*



From the above, we see a very diverse approach towards endorsing involvement between tutors in Glasgow and those in Athens. Apart from the fact that all Athens tutors – in comparison to just over half in Glasgow – perceived the encouragement of students' social participation as part of their role as an educator, none of the tutors in Athens claimed to be facing externally imposed barriers to implementing this goal. Also of great interest is the means through which tutors in the different countries aimed to promote students' social involvement.

Thus, while in Glasgow there was an emphasis on the methodology, in Athens the focus was on the content. For example, when socio-cultural discussions were used in Glasgow, it was because they endorsed interaction and could create a social network for the students. On the other hand, when discussions were used in Athens, it was because they encouraged students to engage critically with socio-political issues and thus generate an interest and critical capacity for wider involvement. This difference is the result of both educational and social factors in the two countries and will be discussed more in depth in the following chapter.

## 9.9 Policy Implications – Tutors

As regards to policy related to migrants' adult education, the Athens tutors had mixed reactions ranging from quite pleased to very dissatisfied. Accordingly, one Athens Vocational Centre tutor had several suggestions:

*'More time and longer periods of teaching Greek, so that whatever is learnt is absorbed. I would like to have some choice over materials so that they would suit my class better. I would also want more hours and days dedicated to extra-curricular activities. And lastly, I think we need intrinsic vocational motives for attracting students.'*

Sotiris

Diverging from the above position, the other Athens Vocational Centre tutor argued that there had been a great improvement in opportunities for migrants' education. Consequently, he believed that there should be no changes made in policy affecting migrants' adult education at this moment. Similar was the opinion of the Polish Cultural Centre tutor:

*'I believe that in Greece the teaching of Greek to adults is at a satisfactory level.'*

Iwona

One of the Integration and one of the Alliances Social Centre tutors did not express an opinion about policy as they said they did not have much knowledge on the subject. The other two tutors, though, agreed that there should be more organised provision set up by the state so that there would be no need for volunteers to fill in the gaps. This provision would not only be quantitatively greater, but it would address quality and accessibility issues:

*'It shouldn't be me doing this job. I'm not a trained teacher. I'm a volunteer. I slate the state from morning to night. There should be provision by the state.'*

Antonia

Suggestions include:

*'I would organise classes in many areas where migrants live and I would subsidise them so that whoever would want could actually participate.'*

Danai

Therefore, in comparison to Glasgow one notices less knowledge about policy on migrants' adult education. Furthermore, while in Glasgow there was a general consensus about what the tutors would change in the current policies affecting their



work, the views of the tutors in Athens were much more divergent. This could also indicate a limited knowledge of policy, as a result of which tutors viewed the situation only from their own perspective.

## 9.10 Improvements Required – Students

Nine out of the thirteen student interviewees in Athens did not express an interest in making changes to their course.<sup>193</sup> As it was explained earlier, this question aimed at gauging the degree to which students were confident to voice views and concerns. The limited expression of such thoughts could therefore signify a lack of such confidence. However, we should take into consideration the reasons the students put forward for not making any suggestions, which were not uniform across the different organizations. None of the students in the Polish Cultural Centre expressed an opinion for improving the course. The reason was:

*'I haven't thought about it and it's a difficult one. I don't teach languages and cannot say anything.'*

Adrianna

Similarly, in the Athens Vocational Centre two out of the three interviewees did not make suggestions about the course:

*'I don't teach languages. I can't say anything.'*

Elena

None of the student in Integration voiced an opinion. The reason, however, was quite different:

*'We appreciate the fact that she volunteers to teach.'*

Tudor

*'You can't learn by yourself. It is great that we can come here for free.'*

Eugen

In Integration, therefore, it was not that students did not have the confidence to formulate and voice an opinion about their course. Rather their appreciation for their tutors' contribution, and particularly the fact that they were volunteers, made them not wanting to make any suggestions.

The students that were by far the most articulate in making suggestions were the students of the Alliances Social Centre. This does not mean that students did not appreciate their tutors' volunteering:

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<sup>193</sup> In Glasgow the proportion was two out of eleven.



*'[The tutor] is doing it from her heart which is great!'*

Irene

Nonetheless, these students felt that they could still make suggestion about ways that could improve their course. What came up most often was the need to make the class more creative:

*'The more creative a tutor is the better. I would like to take the class out of the classroom, go for a coffee.'*

Irene

The only student outwith this organization who made a suggestion had a similar view:

*'I would like to do the lesson like a game so that it has more interest.'*

Mila

Another student suggested:

*'I'd like more time, more classes so that the levels are more balanced, more parties and more trips.'*

Raed

Lastly another student wanted more discussions on topical and political issues:

*'I always want something new, and I want to speak about topical issues. I want to learn how Greeks live, what Greeks think about foreigners. Do you support a party? What about the KKE?<sup>194</sup> I need to learn about such things and the class is the only place where I can.'*

Haşim

It should be noted that, although less students in Athens voiced an opinion, the issues brought forward by Athens students were different from the suggestions made by their Glasgow counterparts. Accordingly, the propositions made by the Glasgow students had more to do with the facilities aspect of their course, whilst the students in Athens put more emphasis on the methodology and the curriculum. This could be a reflection of the importance the Glasgow tutors attributed to facilities since, as we saw above, students' views on different issues tended to reflect the values attributed by their tutors on the different aspects of their class. Lastly, unlike the responses in Glasgow, the suggestions put forward by the Athens students did not have any correspondence with those of their tutors.

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<sup>194</sup> Greek Communist Party

# CHAPTER 10 – LEARNING BEYOND WORDS

## 10.1 Introduction

Before embarking on the study, it had been assumed that because of Scotland's greater tradition in adult education, the findings would mostly consist of recommendations for Greek educationalists drawn from Scottish practice. The outcome, however, was very different, with both Scottish and Greek settings being able to contribute equally to the research aims of the study, which as we saw in the Introduction, were to:

- explore ways through which second language educators can encourage their students to become more socially participative and thus to develop as confident social actors
- investigate how educational and socio-cultural traditions influence the socio-political outcomes of the educational experience

The above aims were interpreted into the following research questions:

- Were students of second language adult education classes becoming more socially participative as a result of their educational experience?
- If so, in which way? Was it participation of a conventional or of an interventionist form?
- If they were becoming more participative, how had their tutors contributed towards that?
- Did the educational tradition influence whether tutors endorsed social involvement?
- Did the socio-political culture influence whether tutors endorsed social involvement?
- In the cases that tutors endorsed social involvement, did the educational and socio-cultural traditions impact on the ways through which they endorsed participation?
- Did the educational and socio-cultural traditions influence the degree and type of social participation that developed through the educational experience?

Findings in relation to the first question can be divided in three groups. These are endorsing involvement through teaching methods, through extra-curricular activities and through the curriculum itself.



Subsequently, the organizations employed in the study are categorised according to what educational approach they are closest to, which is used as a basis for analysing the Glasgow and Athens differences attributed to educational and socio-cultural factors.

## **10.2 Encouraging Social Involvement through the Class**

The interviews showed that classes are crucial spaces for migrants' social life, supporting Bellis and Morrice's (2003:81-84) argument about the importance of the social aspect of adult education courses for migrants. For students, joining a class meant an opportunity to meet people and to find out about other courses or other activities they could engage in. In all settings, the prospect of acquiring better communicative abilities was a major incentive for engaging in education. Social motives were particularly prevalent in Glasgow, where the majority of interviewees enrolled in classes partly to meet people, socialise and make friends.

There could be several reasons for this motive being articulated in Glasgow notably more than in Athens. The most evident one is that for the Glasgow interviewees the gap between arriving in the city and starting the class was significantly shorter than the gap experienced by their counterparts in Athens. Thus, in Athens participants may have already found alternative routes to building social networks. Equally important is the fact that, unlike Glasgow, where most students were asylum seekers and therefore were not allowed to work, in Athens all interviewees were in paid employment, which not only means that they might have become acquainted with other people at work, but most importantly that their spare time was considerably limited.

However, despite the need and yearning among Glasgow students for making social contacts through the class, only half of them had any social contact with fellow students outside class hours and that was mostly in the outreach courses of Glasgow Connections. In contrast, the large majority of the students in Athens had at least some minimum contact with fellow students. There is no apparent explanation for this paradox. Still, for students in Glasgow the very contact with tutors and other members of staff within the educational organization was valuable, since these were the first members of the host community with whom they built a relationship. Moreover, it was through this contact that students in Glasgow gained an understanding of the host society and a sense of community, necessary steps for becoming socially involved.



### **10.2.1 Encouraging Involvement through Teaching Methods**

The interviews demonstrated that the more an educator attaches importance to the social aspect of the class, the more keen students become in actually getting socially involved. Those tutors in Glasgow who perceived the encouragement of their students' involvement as part of their role, considered the use of non-formal teaching methods – such as group work, learning games and casual conversation – as a means of building social networks, which would increase the students' bonding social capital. In turn, this social capital was expected to further students' social participation. Indeed, Schuller *et al* (2002:44-52) have argued that the social space of an adult education class provides an excellent opportunity for network building, which they saw as indispensable in expanding one's social involvement. But not all classes of the study were equally able to generate social networks and build a community. The course that was the most successful was Glasgow Connections Class A, and it was not a coincidence that this was the only course in which the social aspect of the class was seen by tutors as an objective at least as important as the educational one.

Indeed, the building of social capital, as we saw in Chapter 2.1.2, is a key element of learning to work together, which often appears in adult education literature for active citizenship (e.g. Merrifield, 1997:2; Mayo, 2000:24; Johnston, 2003:56; Dekeyser, 2001:37). However, this literature concentrates on informal and non-formal educational projects in which citizenship issues are a primary objective. In this study we see that building social capital should be a conscious aim of *any* educational programme – whether that is formal, informal or non-formal – as a way of building the basis for the development of students' further social involvement. Nonetheless, it was discerned that using teaching methods to create social networks should not be assumed as generating social involvement by itself. Hence, despite the extensive use of this practice by the majority of the Glasgow tutors, most students in Glasgow did not become particularly participative.

A student-centred approach to teaching is also linked to a less hierarchical relationship between educators and students. When this relationship allows students to contribute in decision-making on matters related to the course, the study found that students gained the confidence to voice their ideas and to take initiatives. Thus, the only students who took initiatives in organising by themselves an extra-curricular event, were the students in the less hierarchical Glasgow Connections Class A and Integration. Similarly, the only student interviewee who expressed a personal opinion and made a recommendation about the curriculum was from the Alliances Social

Centre, where students were encouraged to think about and contribute towards the curriculum. Nonetheless, for students – and migrant students in particular – to get a voice ‘it does not suffice to “let” them have it, for they still have to *take* it’ (Castoriadis, 1997:10). Tutors need to help students believe that what they think – and not only what ‘experts’ think – matters, and for this to be achieved is needed more than the breaking down of classroom hierarchies (Wallis & Allman, 1996).



### **10.2.2 Encouraging Involvement through Extra-Curricular Activities**

Bellis and Morrice (2003:81-84) have discerned that second language adult education classes provide students a gateway to social activities. Indeed, tutors in both cities found it important to provide information about events taking place in the wider community, and they exhorted their students to participate in them. Nevertheless, it has to be noted, that unless the tutors themselves attended these events, students tended not to take up the opportunities. The function of extra-curricular activities organised either by the educational establishment or by the tutors themselves was also valued by those educators who perceived the encouragement of their students' social involvement as an element of their teaching. These activities could either be purely social or they could have an educational aspect.

Most of the students consistently attended these activities and when the tutors, rather than just administrative staff, actively participated in their preparation, students were more willing to contribute towards their planning, either by making suggestions or by organising an event themselves – as was the case in the Glasgow Connections Class A and the volunteer classes in Athens. On the other hand, where no extra-curricular activities were organized – as was the case in the Refugees' Learning Centre and the Polish Cultural Centre – the students did not instigate themselves any social contact outwith the class.

Apart from the value of the social nature extra-curricular activities, activities with educational aims were also seen by students as important. In particular, activities related to popular culture were of value as they helped students recognise similarities between their country's culture and the host community's culture.<sup>195</sup> This recognition of – even small – commonalities would lessen students' feelings of cultural alienation, thus increasing their interest in the host culture and encouraging the development of an identity that is not bound by national characteristics but one that is instead future-oriented (Romanucci-Ross & De Vos, 1996:18; Castells, 1997:10-12). This identity, in turn, would connect students with other people, convictions and ideas, which according to Holford and van der Veen (2003:51-52), is directly linked to citizenship.

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<sup>195</sup> The same applies to popular culture related discussion taking place in the classroom.

Nevertheless, it has to be recognised that extra-curricular activities demand a lot of the tutors' time and thus dedication on their part is required to fully encourage students' social involvement in such a way. This was a comment made by tutors in the Chinese Family Centre and the Alliances Social Centre. These were not tutors who did not see the encouragement of their students' involvement as important. To the contrary this was an issue they took seriously and yet they thought they could not fully realise. A way of overcoming this barrier could be drawn from the example of the Glasgow Connections where people who worked as support staff during class hours, and who came in direct personal contact with the students, played a key role in helping organise such activities. In this way, the students got to have the opportunity to participate in extra-curricular activities without tutors being overwhelmed by the load that such preparations would add to their work.



### ***10.2.3 Encouraging Involvement through the Curriculum***

In their effort to encourage social interaction, those tutors in Athens who wanted to endorse social involvement, rather than employing non-formal teaching methods,<sup>196</sup> used instead the curriculum. There are two ways for society to enter the curriculum. First, tutors integrated social themes as topics of communicative activities. In this way, when practising oral skills, tutors in Athens encouraged students to discuss social issues, instead of the more trivial topics of famous personalities or food. An influence for that could be the fact that Glasgow tutors used EFL books, whilst in Athens tutors had in their availability second language textbooks that were more relevant to their particular student group's life and educational needs. Yet, as we will see later, educational and social factors were probably the most important cause of the different approach to curriculum.

Social issues were also discussed separately, in the form of an independent course component, reflecting intercultural education's perception of society and culture as independent components of the curriculum (Byram, 1997; Corbett, 2003). Evidently, the degree of linguistic ability in a beginners' class limited the possibilities for dialogue on themes that require a substantial linguistic competence. However, this did not prevent certain tutors from broadening the curriculum as soon as it became possible. Although all tutors discussed social and cultural issues to a certain extent, the tutors in Integration and the Alliances Social Centre proclaimed their dedication to expanding the content of their teaching to include topical political and social issues. In contradistinction to the other tutors, who aimed to transfer knowledge in order to assist their students' understanding of the host community, tutors in these two organizations intended to set their students thinking about social and political problems. This suggests that these classes aimed, not at transmitting knowledge, but at enabling students to construct it themselves – thus indicating an influence from radical adult education (Martin, 1999a:96).

However, this approach was opposed by most tutors in Glasgow, who believed that issues that had a political or religious touch were not appropriate elements for

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<sup>196</sup> Although many students in Athens suggested that they would prefer their tutors to use less didactic teaching methods.



classroom discussion,<sup>197</sup> all the more when students in their class were in the vulnerable position of seeking asylum. There are two concerns that emerge from this reasoning. Apart from the argument that the adoption of a politically neutral position by educators has been challenged as unattainable (Freire, 1996), the fact that the tutors were so careful not to threaten or harm their students through raising socio-political issues brings to light a view of the students as feeble. An obsession with building students' self-esteem as a way of fighting social exclusion reflects the therapeutic philosophy that increasingly dominates British society (Finger & Asún, 2000:73; Furedi, 2004; Ecclestone, 2004). Without trying to dispute the gravity of the circumstances migrants may go through – both in the country of origin, during their journey and in the host country – it is condescending to see them simply as powerless victims and subjects of persecution and not as social actors who had been actually dealing with the problematic circumstances they had faced (Bauman, 2002:343-344; Gilroy, 1992:60).

Wanting to gauge the students' response on this issue, the student interviewees were asked if they considered discussions on society, culture and politics as an element of the lesson. It transpired that, in both cities, the students' responses consistently mirrored the views of their tutors. Thus, the students of tutors who placed importance and spent time on the discussion of such themes – whether that was in the form of knowledge transmission or in the form of critical exploration – all saw society and culture as an integral part of the lesson. On the other hand, those students whose tutors avoided the discussion of politics, social problems and religion dismissed the appropriateness of such elements as course components.

Students in the two Athens organizations where society and politics entered the curriculum in a critical way, not only said they enjoyed the discussions, but wished for more. Social and political discussions were seen by those students as fulfilling both their yearning for knowledge and contributing towards their emotional well-being. As expected, those interviewees had a much better awareness of current affairs and showed a higher degree of interest in learning more about the social and political aspects of the country. The way these students perceived the interviewer was different as well. Rather than our meeting being treated as an interview, the students considered it more like a social occasion. Their ease in interacting with a newly

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<sup>197</sup> This diverse approach of the Glasgow and Athens tutors towards the curriculum relates more to the second research question and will therefore be further discussed in the following section.



acquainted member of the host community was evident, and according to them, the class had played a role in it.

Students in classes where social and political issues of the host country entered the classroom in a purely informative manner still valued their inclusion in the curriculum. Awareness of these subjects was perceived as necessary for functioning in society and – for those students in particular who were more socially involved – it was perceived as valuable for the knowledge that it provided. This finding, thus, supports Elliott's (2000:16) argument that the curriculum should include topics relating to the nature of the civil society and institutions and that it should provide an informed understanding of participants' social rights. Moreover, as was the case with the extra-curricular activities, many students found socio-political topics being incorporated in the curriculum as valuable for enabling them to see common aspects between the different countries, thus creating a basis for generating a project, future-oriented cross-cultural identity (Castells, 1997:10-12; Romanucci-Ross & De Vos, 1996:18), and thus enabling social involvement (Schuller *et al*, 2002:44-52).

Obviously society cannot be shut off from the classroom and social problems related to students' lives cropped up in discussions in all second language classrooms. Where the tutors were happy to discuss social issues as long as they were not politicised, problems were treated as personal rather than as social. Although feminism has proclaimed that the personal is political (Coats, 1994), this is the case only if the personal is shared and becomes the starting point for deliberation and political action (Leicester, 2001). Therefore, a description of personal problems in itself remains a therapeutic process and, even though it might bring people closer together, it has limited possibilities for building solidarity amongst a group. This attitude, apart from focusing on *individual* psychology (Macedo, 1993:xv), which limits the potential for social involvement and collective action, does little beyond generating a pedagogical comfort zone that makes the oppressed feel good about their victimisation (Lovett, 1988:301).

Apart from the perception of their students as vulnerable, another reason<sup>198</sup> for Glasgow tutors unwillingness to include socio-political topics in the curriculum was the fear of imposing their views on their students. It is true, as we have seen from the correlation between tutors' and students' views on both issues of curriculum and

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<sup>198</sup> Although linked.

extra-curricular activities, that tutors are of great influence to their students. Nonetheless, a basic democratic notion is that humans are by nature political beings, having all equal ability in formulating political views (Protagoras in Castoriadis, 1990:125-126). Furthermore, both liberal and radical approaches to adult education are based on the belief that students do not come in the class as blank slates. Besides, as we saw earlier, Jarvis makes an interesting argument that even unconscious processes of learning are not thoughtless (in Merrifield, 2002:9).

Given that it is unavoidable that tutors will indirectly put forward their views on social reality, this study found evidence that an open and critical discussion of socio-political issues does not mean that students will adopt the views of their tutors more than if such conversations are avoided. Data could actually direct us to the opposite conclusion, as the students who were the most confident in expressing their opinion, were the students whose tutors welcomed dialogue. This conclusion is also backed up by a student's response, which attributed importance to the sharing of experiences and exchange of opinions with one another, and who indicated that it was this internal interaction that contributed towards their understanding of and interest in the wider society.

Therefore, the exclusion of the political from the class can be immensely detrimental to students' social involvement. As we saw in Chapter Two, Holford and Van der Veen (2003:51-52) have identified three prerequisites for the learning of active citizenship. These are developing a sense of agency, taking responsibility and coping with social issues and lastly, developing convictions, opinions and ideas that connect the student to others. Drawing from the above, all these aspects of the students' learning are seriously undermined if the educator is unwilling to engage in critical discussions relating to social problems and political issues.



#### ***10.2.4 Adding to the Framework for Endorsing Involvement***

Most methods put forward by the framework for endorsing active citizenship through adult education<sup>199</sup> were found to be employed by the different organizations of the study, although in most cases it was not a conscious decision of the tutors. Students' accessing information, gaining knowledge of political systems, and building social capital were the most common ones. Some of the tutors encouraged more the critical exploration of ideas, realities and values, the formulation of arguments, and collaborative learning. Proposals of the framework that were found not to be used were the encouragement of students in taking responsibility for social issues, learning how to influence, and working with social movements. In other words, it was the means through which second language adult education classes could become themselves an active movement for migrants' citizenship.

The study's findings, drawing from the practice of tutors in two countries and in different types of organizations, can contribute in making further suggestions of ways through which an educational experience in second language can help students in all three aspects of the framework – in becoming informed, in getting a voice and in learning to work together. First of all, an emphasis and awareness of the social aspects of the class was found to make students more open to the development of social skills. As it was mentioned above, most tutors who employed the framework's methods did it without being aware of the possible outcomes of such use. In the cases, however, where these practices were used consciously for advancing students' social involvement, they were more successful in achieving their goal. This comes to no surprise given that, when both tutors and students are aware of the aims of a course, the educational outcomes tend to be better achieved (Kyriakou, 1998:7).

Using student-centred teaching methods was one method that tutors in Glasgow used in order to build social networks among the students, which would contribute towards their gaining of social capital. Although the building of social networks was found to be important in helping students' social engagement, it was discerned that it should not be assumed to be leading to active citizenship by itself. This confirms existing criticism of the perception of social networks and social capital as panacea (Johnston, 2003:53; Field, 2001:29; Westwood, 1991). Tutors should thus encourage their students' involvement in various other ways.

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<sup>199</sup> Table 2.1.3.

The most widely acknowledged one was extra-curricular activities. Social and educational activities were found to be a useful practice for endorsing active social involvement by providing a space, not only for the development of social capital, but also for the gaining of knowledge, the exploration of social realities and the fostering of collective identities. Finally, Athens tutors' practice of incorporating in the curriculum issues of explicitly socio-political nature was found to be contributing towards students' involvement in a number of ways. These included students becoming critically informed, getting a voice and finding common purpose.

Lastly, allowing students' input in the class – both in terms of curriculum and extra-curricular activities – was found to develop students' sense of agency and encouraged the taking of initiatives. In addition, contributing in matters related to the course was also determined to be a crucial means for students learning to speak out. In other words, the encouragement of students' input was seen to be an important means to developing students' voice and, therefore, students' social involvement.



## 10.3 Influence of Educational Traditions

There were many differences between Glasgow and Athens tutors' responses, as well as between the impact second language adult education had on the students' social involvement of each city. These differences can be attributed to both educational and socio-political characteristics of the two settings. This chapter will be looking at the educational factors.

### *10.3.1 Selected Organizations' Adult Education Approach*

The aim of this study was to compare four corresponding organizations in each country, each representing a distinct type of educational organization and possibly being characterised by a diverse educational tradition. However, despite assumptions having been made that the state-funded courses would be closer to a functionalist approach, the campaign organizations would draw from radical adult education and the community and charity courses would mostly reflect a liberal approach to adult education, it was impossible to know what adult education approach each course was really closest to – and therefore what concept of migrants' citizenship it reflected – before conducting the interviews.

#### 10.3.1.1 Glasgow Organizations

Surprisingly, organizations in Glasgow did not differ in their approach to adult education and were all closely connected to the liberal adult education tradition. Glasgow tutors focused on the individual, aiming primarily at their immediate students development – what Lawson<sup>200</sup> identified as the deontological strand of liberalism (1996; 1998:69-70).<sup>201</sup> The roles of educators and students were clearly demarcated, despite volunteer tutors' claims to be more of a facilitator or befriender. Indeed, all tutors in Glasgow made an effort to break down hierarchies. One way of trying to achieve this was the use of student-centred methods, like informal discussions and pair/group work. Students were encouraged to talk about their countries and cultures, creating a pluralistic environment within the class.

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<sup>200</sup> See Chapter 2.3.2.

<sup>201</sup> The Chinese Family Centre case is somewhat different and will be discussed in more detail later.

There was not, however, much effort being made to affect the social environment outside the classroom. As we saw in Chapter 2.4, although this approach to adult education endorses the expression of plural voices, it does not forge collective identities in order to engage socially and fight for a common purpose.

There was an important difference between the professional and the volunteer courses. Tutors in the first were more influenced by the teleological form of liberalism, whilst tutors in the latter were instead influenced more by the deontological approach (Muirhead, 1932). Thus, the educators in Glasgow College and the Chinese Family Centre, apart from perceiving their work as affecting their immediate students – as was the case with the volunteer tutors, also recognised their role in relation to society as a whole. Hence, they aimed at encouraging the peaceful co-existence between the host and the new communities, mostly through advocating on migrants' behalf and encouraging their students' integration. On the other hand, tutors in the volunteer organizations were concerned exclusively with the humanist aims of growth and well being (Rogers, 1969), concentrating on providing their immediate students with psychological support.

The Glasgow organization whose educational approach stood out as somewhat different was the Chinese Family Centre. These classes, despite sharing the above liberal elements, also included a couple of aspects that indicate some affinity with the radical approach. Hence, the Chinese Family Centre tutors envisioned that through their work, apart from making provisions for their students, they would contribute towards the social position of this migrant group as a whole. For this reason, one of the tutors introduced students to a community organization, thus linking the class with a grassroots social group – what in radical adult education is seen as an epistemological community (Martin, 1999b). It has to be noted here that this was the sole radical adult education element found in the Glasgow organizations, which is surprising given the Scottish radical adult education tradition (Bryant, 1984:6-10; Crowther, 1999; Alexander, 1994).

#### **10.3.1.2 Athens Organizations**

In contradistinction to Glasgow, where tutors' responses reflected a similar educational approach regardless which organization they worked for, the answers of their counterparts in Athens varied, reflecting the different philosophy of each one's



educational institution.<sup>202</sup> Thus, the Athens Vocational Centre was closest to the functionalist model; the Polish Cultural Centre was liberal with functionalist influences; Integration was closest to teleological liberalism; and the Alliances Social Centre was teleological liberal with elements of the radical approach.

Tutors in the Athens Vocational Centre accepted the Greek dominant culture as a culture that needs to be transmitted to the students and learnt unquestioningly. Despite one tutor's claims of trying to use students' experiences as teaching material, their input was actually minimal and the curriculum focused at explaining them – rather than at critically exploring – how to deal with social situations in Greece. The course, aimed particularly at unemployed migrants, reflecting a social integrationist approach to social inclusion (Levitas, 1998:7-28) and the functionalist acceptance of migrants on a predominantly economic basis (Parsons, 1969:263-264). It was, thus, the only organization in the study that followed a mostly economic approach to citizenship (Martin, 1999a:94). Greek society's interests came first to those of the students, and tutors' concerns concentrated on moulding students to fit into their ascribed social role. Lastly, there was a hierarchy between tutors and students, which was emphasised by the didactic methodology and the requirement of sitting examinations as a prerequisite for the students to receive financial support – a typical characteristic of functionalist education (Jarvis, 1985: 119-121).

On the other side of the spectrum, the responses of tutors of the Alliances Social Centre reflected a combination of the liberal and the radical approaches. These tutors demonstrated a pluralistic epistemology that involved both dialogue and reflection and which had as one of its outcomes the bringing together of different communities. Tutors' motivation was highly political and, through the sharing of space of the classes with the other political activities, the courses constituted a potential gateway to a social movement – a unique characteristic of radical adult education (Martin, 1999b). Diverging from the radical approach, however, the curriculum focused primarily on language and, despite students having a significant input in the class, lessons were not necessarily based on the students' lives.

Reflecting the deontological liberal tradition of adult education (Rogers, 1969; Knowles, 1984:14-18), the Polish Cultural Centre tutor focused on the individual, aiming to provide immediate students with confidence and a feeling of security in

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<sup>202</sup> As was hypothesised at the beginning of the study.

their new environment. However, reflecting a more functionalist influence (Spence, 1998:63; Schugurensky, 2002), the curriculum – which concentrated on language – was decided in advance with minimal input by students. Still, also partly affected by teleological liberalism, the tutor considered the endorsement of social involvement through the development of critical thinking as an important element of the class. In other words, she conceived her students as, what Wiltshire (1976:31-34) would call, reflective citizens.

Even closer to teleological liberalism were the tutors in Integration. Their aims consisted of helping their immediate students, but also of contributing towards society becoming more pluralist and inclusive. Tutors saw both themselves and their students as social actors, encouraging the latter to voice their realities and worldviews (ibid). Still, it was perceived that these voices should be accommodated in the existing host culture, rather than that they should challenge it or contribute towards it – an attitude for which traditional liberal adult education has been criticised for (Fieldhouse, 1998; Thomas, 1982:14).



### **10.3.2 Impact of Educational Tradition**

Having seen how the organizations related to the different adult education approaches, this section offers an explanation for the divergence between Glasgow and Athens, and explores how different educational traditions influence the effect adult education has on migrant students' social involvement.

One explanation for the disparity between adult education approaches in Glasgow and Athens seems to be the permeation of the deontological liberal educational theory in Scotland. In contradistinction, in Greece the 'common good'<sup>203</sup> is seen as of higher ontological importance to the 'individual right' (Pollis, 1992). As a result, the traditions of functionalist, teleological liberal and radical education are more evident in Greece. Unlike the adult education tradition in Greece, Scottish educational settings have been historically permeated by liberal adult education (Bryant, 1984:passim; Hamilton & Slowey, 2005). Commitment to liberal adult education has dominated up to today, which partly accounts for the avoidance of political issues entering the classroom.<sup>204</sup> Nonetheless, the pedagogy followed by tutors in Glasgow demonstrates that it is the deontological humanistic adult education in particular that has become dominant. In some cases a misunderstood version of it.

In reality, Rogerian ideas are based on trusting people to be essentially competent human beings and on a holistic view of learning with the objective of developing fulfilled individuals. Responding to this aim, the educator needs to act as a facilitator of learning, based on the principles of being real, prizing the students, and having an empathic understanding of their needs and yearnings (Rogers, 1969). As we saw, however, volunteer tutors in Glasgow understood the ideas behind humanistic education superficially and, saw their students as vulnerable – not as competent persons. This has serious repercussions on the input of the class towards students' social involvement, as it disallows the development of a sense of agency and the taking of responsibility for social issues – thus undermining students' social involvement (Holford & van der Veen, 2003:51-52).

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<sup>203</sup> Whether that is an idea from below (as in the radical and the teleological liberal tradition) or an imposed from the above perception of the good (in functionalism).

<sup>204</sup> Although, as we have seen, the traditional liberal adult education does not endorse the exclusion of everything political or religious. Rather it favours the inclusion of all different approaches to these issues (Mansbridge, 1913).



Empathy was in fact mentioned by a large segment of the tutors interviewed in Glasgow as a motive for doing this work. Drawing from notions of facilitation and in an effort not to be authoritarian, within the class the tutors described their function as that of befriending and facilitating. In addition, most Glasgow tutors denied the existence of power relations in their classroom, which they claimed to ensure through their friendliness and informal methodology. However, as Galloway argues (1999:235), informality should not be confused with dialogue, which would imply an equal status of all interlocutors. On the other hand, tutors in Athens claimed to play a much more important role, which could derive from the more traditional ideas about the role of the teacher (Vergidis, 1992:219; Argiropoulos & Dimitrakis, n.d.). Besides, despite the emphasis put on treating students as adults, the power relations between students and educator was an issue that remained unexplored in Athens.

The withdrawal of the educator in deontological liberal education does not mean an abandonment of power. In fact, Rogers used his power as an educator to enable learners to exercise theirs. Similarly, from a radical adult education point of view, the educator is seen both as a joint learner with students and as someone who holds authority by virtue of greater knowledge on the taught subject. The implicit authority of the educator's position has to be openly acknowledged if it is to be confronted (Shor & Freire, 1987:90-95). Otherwise, not only do the tutors occlude their power but, most importantly, they avoid raising the issue of power (Castoriadis, 1997:13).

Therefore, respecting the students and treating them as equals does not necessarily mean that hierarchies disappear and that students are more involved in the educational process. Nor does it help students in getting a voice outside the classroom. When tutors refrain from addressing political and religious issues they implicitly control the agenda. Ultimately, that the students' views on curricular and extra-curricular issues reflected those of their individual tutors, and the effects of tutors' conduct on their students' wider social involvement, show the power tutors unwittingly wield within the classroom.

It has to be noted though that liberal adult education, and the humanistic tradition in particular, has been criticised for its individualism (Thompson, 1997; Keddie, 1980), and more specifically for its focus on methods at the expense of the content of education and its social outcomes (Foley, 2000b:56)<sup>205</sup> – which is something that was

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<sup>205</sup> As we saw in Chapter 2.5.2.



witnessed in the Glasgow classes. This has a negative impact on students' social involvement in two different ways. First, it does not encourage learning to work together and second, it disregards the critical exploration of ideas, realities and values.

On the other hand, tutors in Athens showed a limited use of informal methods, partly due to lack of knowledge of such methodologies (Kokkos, 2005) and the only recent employment of communicative language teaching theory (Nunan, 1989), but also due to the wide acceptance of didacticism. As an effect, tutors in Athens failed to use dialogical deliberative processes and democratic teaching styles (Martin, 2003: 574-575; Jarvis, 2002:17-18), undermining collaborative learning and the building of social capital.

## 10.4 Influence of Socio-Political Tradition

Apart from the influence of the diverse educational traditions, socio-cultural factors are also responsible behind the different approaches taken by Glasgow and Athens tutors on how to endorse students' involvement.

The focus in Glasgow on building social networks, which was particularly emphasised in the outreach Glasgow Connections courses is directly linked to Scotland's social communitarianism. This communitarianism, derives, as Paterson (2002a:209-210) argues, from Scotland's paternalistic strand of liberalism and is combined with a suspicion of political action. Together with the educational tradition's influence described above, it can explain tutors' perception of students as vulnerable, as well as their avoidance of socio-political discussions. The focus on social networks and the building of bonding social capital also shows an inclination towards localism, which apart from reflecting the Scottish political culture (Paterson, 1994:59), it has been given importance in previous research in the UK (Bellis & Morrice, 2003:83). As a result, students' strongest feelings of belonging lay with their local community.<sup>206</sup>

The de-politicised responses of the Glasgow Connections tutors were not expected, given that the main aim of the wider organization is to advocate on migrants' behalf. In general, the professional tutors in Glasgow were more political in their responses than were the volunteers. Again, this is peculiar, as the tutors who are not in paid employment in the field would be expected to have fewer restrictions imposed on them on such issues. The only explanation for this is the spread of volunteerism in Scotland (Paterson, 1994:59),<sup>207</sup> which has come to be seen by many as a form of increasing their employability, rather than as a form of social involvement. At the same time, one could wonder why a campaign organization would accept volunteers who do not share its core political aims. Paterson's (2002a:209-210) argument on Scottish culture's favour of *public* action but detachment from *political* action could again provide an answer to this question. This, not only affects tutors' perception of their role, but also shapes students' involvement (Soysal, 1999) into a form of public depoliticised local action.

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<sup>206</sup> Although, the media portrayal of migrants as disloyal elements of the society also hinders them from feeling members of the wider community (Hussain & Miller, 2004:2). This is applicable to the Greek student interviewees too, who often felt part of the migrant community, but not of the wider Greek society.

<sup>207</sup> A result of the important role the civil society has been playing in the Scottish political culture (Brown *et al*, 1996:38; McCrone, 2001:43-47).



In contradistinction, in Greece voluntary activities tend to be seen as a form of activism. The essence of volunteer tutor interviewees' motives and the perception of their work's role were much more related to society than that of their counterparts in Glasgow. The tradition of political involvement in Greece (Gallant, 2001:119-120), the less institutionalised political culture (Gourgouris, 1996:167-169) and the rejection of humanism in favour of a more political approach to society (Rolheiser, 1997:50-53; Papadopoulou, 1997:54-55) can offer insights into why volunteer tutors in Athens, unlike those in Glasgow, welcomed socio-political discussions in the classroom and used the curriculum as a means for endorsing participation.

This study, not only reinforces Soysal's (1999) argument that the participatory mechanisms and resources of the host communities determine migrants' socio-political involvement, but it also shows that this is done unconsciously through adult education. Thus, in Glasgow there were two students who through their class became volunteers in community groups<sup>208</sup> and students who were attending local women's groups. In addition, a large proportion of extra-curricular activities in Glasgow were parties for the students, which had a strong multiculturalist feeling.<sup>209</sup> On the other hand, students in Athens would go for a coffee or to eat out and would attend parties that were not catered specifically for students, but for people of all backgrounds – Greeks and migrants – and which did not aim at the celebration of cultures. Despite this approach raising concerns about the possibility of migrants' assimilation, it also offers the opportunity for the generation of a more cosmopolitan political culture that can break 'the historical symbiosis of republicanism and nationalism' so that 'the republican sensibilities of populations can be shifted onto the foundation of constitutional patriotism' (Habermas, 2001:76).

Another difference between Glasgow and Athens was the use of concepts such as integration, assimilation and incorporation. In Athens, these terms were used interchangeably, an indication of the limited debate and thought that has been put on the subject. On the other hand, it has to be highlighted that although in the UK the term integration has displaced terms such as assimilation and incorporation, it is to a

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<sup>208</sup> A student from the Chinese Family Centre, who became involved in a minoritised community group, and a student in Glasgow Connections Class A, who helped the support workers of her class in providing childcare facilities.

<sup>209</sup> As we have seen, Britain in general and Scotland in particular favour a multicultural approach to 'race' relations (Delithanassi, 2005:29; Paterson, 2002a:209-210).

large degree due to political correctness and to the consequent transfer of assimilationist meanings to the term integration, rather than necessarily to a better approach towards the issue.

Still Glasgow tutors' outlooks were less assimilationist than those of the Athens tutors. In Glasgow, there was a multiculturalist approach, which encouraged all the different cultures to be celebrated. However, this approach also emphasised the differences, rather than the similarities shared amongst the students and/or between the students and the host community. It, thus, recognised plural ethnic cultures, but it fell short of re-conceptualising the wider culture of the city as being influenced by both the existing and the new residents' cultures, limiting the possibilities for generating a project, future-oriented identity (Castells, 1997:8,10-12; Romanucci-Ross & De Vos, 1996:18). Tutors in Athens, were not as much motivated to do this work in order to come in contact with other cultures. Instead they were interested in helping migrants become included in the Greek society. Therefore, there was less emphasis on multiculturalism. Instead, the effort for students' mainstreaming could be seen as the effect of assimilationist republican tendencies (Lyberaki & Maroukis, 2005:32-33).



## 10.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, it was found that considering the impact that educational experiences have on students' social involvement, reflection on pedagogical choices is important. Moreover, the encouragement of participation cannot be simply seen as a side aspect of the lesson, but as an integral part embedded in the activities, methods and content of the class. The role of the educator and their relationship to the students cannot be just assumed. The finest intentions do not necessarily bring the best results and one needs to be open to explore ways through which power is exercised before being able to contest it. Finally, an awareness of educational and social factors was found to offer a better understanding of the outcomes of ones' work, whether these are practical choices or wider influences, such as migrants' social involvement.

# CHAPTER 11 – CONCLUSION

## 11.1 Situating the self – reflexivity

As discussed in Chapter 6.1.2, this study follows a critical epistemology, which perceives researcher and object of research as interlinked through the mediation of the researcher's values and assumptions (Guba & Linkoln, 1998:206). These values and assumptions influence all aspects of the research process – from its theoretical framing to its analysis (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998:273; Breuer & Roth, 2003) – and, therefore, they need to be openly discussed. Nonetheless, the postmodernist argument that such recognition of the role of the researcher's subjectivity necessitates the abandonment of all attempts at objectivity (e.g. Griffiths, 1998:50-54,82) is not supported here.

Rather, it is argued that reflexive consideration of the role of the researcher's self within the research process assists in the pursuit of a greater degree of objectivity, both for the researcher and for the audience. As Gouldner (1971:493) argues, 'awareness of the *self* is seen as an indispensable avenue to awareness of the social world. For there is no knowledge of the world that is not a knowledge of our own experience with it and our relation to it'. As such, the aim of this section is to reveal some of the personal experiences, preconceptions and values that have influenced the framing, conducting and analysing of this study and which the author herself realised only through reflecting on the research process.

Although the practice of writing in the third person has been employed throughout the thesis, for ease of expression and because of its appropriateness where issues of subjectivity are concerned, within this section the first person is being used. As was discussed in the introductory chapter, the choice of the study's research questions came from my experience as a second language adult educator and from my inability to encourage my students in becoming more socially participative. Nonetheless, as Mruck and Breuer (2003:3) argue, behind a research question there is often a personal question that the researcher is not consciously aware of.

In my case, through conducting the study, I came to realise that apart from my experiences as an adult educator, another reason that shaped the choice of the research questions was my personal experience of moving to another country and my dealing with the changes that occurred in my participation patterns, both after the



move and throughout the years of immersion in Scottish society. This rationale had some impact on my interaction with participants, as I was investigating what other people have done or felt in a situation in which I have been myself and which I have found highly challenging. In this way, my interest in their experiences and views was not only the detached interest of a researcher, but a personal one. At the same time, this made the interaction with some student participants less hierarchical and more open, as they saw me as someone who shared their experience of being a 'foreigner'.

It was in my journey of endeavouring to become involved in Scottish society that I came across adult education. My interest in adult education was generated by its social purpose tradition and the links it has with both students' social involvement and educators' socio-political commitments. This not only influenced my theoretical framework,<sup>210</sup> and its focus on adult education for migrants' citizenship, but it also made me more interested in the interventionist mode of socio-political involvement.<sup>211</sup> Although, as a result of the findings<sup>212</sup> I had to modify this approach and pay more attention than initially anticipated to the conventional participatory outcomes of adult education, the perspectives and voices of those more politically or less conventionally involved were reported with more emphasis and analysed more thoroughly.<sup>213</sup> This was not a conscious decision, but one that derived from my particular interests and values.

Another issue that I came to realise through the study, was the degree to which my ideas in relation to society, social involvement and, as a result, adult education are still shaped by my Greek background. Thus, my lack of sympathy for the communitarian perspective and for the focus on bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000:22), which was found across the teaching staff interviewed in Glasgow, could be interpreted as a result of my upbringing in a different political culture. The same conclusion can be derived by my more well-disposed approach towards the Greek voluntary organizations, where tutors were more open to the discussion of topical and political issues, despite not necessarily using more student-centred methodologies. From the above, one can see that my experiences, personal interests and values were crucial in conceptualising and theorising the subject, in sharpening the research questions, in positioning and acting

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<sup>210</sup> Particularly as developed in Chapter 2.1.3.

<sup>211</sup> See Chapter One.

<sup>212</sup> According to which the predominant form of endorsed participation was the conventional one.

<sup>213</sup> E.g. Haşim

in the field, as well as in analysing and interpreting the data (Breuer & Roth, 2003:7-9).

On the other hand, through conducting this research, I learned to appreciate everydayness; the importance of ordinary interactions and simple human relatedness (Phipps, 2007). In other words, I came to value much more the first steps that one makes in order to break one's isolation and the energy one puts towards being a part of a society on a regular everyday level. Thus, by the end of the study I was much more appreciative of migrant students' efforts for conventional participation and the humanistic outcomes of education, although I was still disappointed by those tutors who would not make that 'one step further' to encourage an education where really useful knowledge for students can be developed and where praxis can ensue.



## 11.2 Adult Education and Migrants' Citizenship

Apart from the above personal reasons behind conducting this study, the research topic was chosen based on some socio-political premises and within a certain social context.<sup>214</sup> The context was a globalised environment, with increasingly diverse demographics and progressively more concomitant cultures. In this context, the notions of a relatively autonomous nation-state and of distinct cultures have been challenged. As a result, drawing from the Habermasian notion of constitutional patriotism (2001) and the idea of a project/future-oriented identity (Castells, 1997:8-12; Romanucci-Ross & De Vos, 1996:18), the study was based on the aspiration that adult education could be employed to develop social actors. These social actors would then be engaged in the shaping and re-shaping of their polity, in that way overcoming the contemporary democratic deficit.

In this study, the very position of migrants is regarded as a vantage point for mediating between cultures, thus allowing the development of diverse ideas and understandings of human life and relationships (Byram, 1997; Corbett, 2003:31). The cosmopolitanisation that is experienced by people,<sup>215</sup> that is when cultures and worldviews clash within oneself, necessitates the comparison, reflection, analysis and synthesis of conflicting ideas. In this way it can lead to the imagination of alternative ways of life (Beck, 2002) and the development of a future-oriented social project.

The educational space of second language adult education was seen as particularly appropriate for such a development. As was discussed in the theoretical framework of the study, the principles of the radical perspective of adult education were the most congruent with the socio-political premises that underlay this research and the most appropriate for endorsing migrants' citizenship. At this point we need to look at what the study reveals in relation to adult education being a catalyst for migrants' citizenship. Additionally, we need to explore the findings' implications for the democratic project of endorsing an alternative society, in the (re-)shaping of which people of different backgrounds and diverse ideas are equally involved.

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<sup>214</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>215</sup> Migrants or not.

### **11.2.1 Adult Education as Catalyst for Migrants' Participation**

Despite including a wide range of adult education organizations in the study, the educational approaches encountered were limited to variations of the liberal perspective. This was particularly evident amongst the Glasgow organizations. Not all tutors in Glasgow considered the endorsement of their students' social involvement as part of their role. Those who did think so, encouraged the generation of bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000:22) and, through it, the creation of migrant students' communities. This was more effective in the outreach classes but unsuccessful in other cases.

For example, in the Glasgow Connections, students participated in the local women's groups and, in one case, some of them organised a Turkish night for the International Women's Day. In the case of the Refugees' Learning Centre, however, there was hardly any contact amongst students outwith class hours, let alone wider social participation. The perception of bonding social capital as something good in itself and as entirely positive was particularly prevalent among Scottish tutors. This is not surprising given that this idea fits well with Scottish communitarianism (Paterson, 2002a; Paterson, 1994). This focus, nonetheless, overlooks the fact that bonding social capital in itself cannot endorse social participation. Moreover, it disregards the disadvantageous situations bonding social capital can lead to (Bourdieu, 1997a; Putnam, 2000; Field, 2001),<sup>216</sup> a point that was also made by one of better integrated student interviewees.<sup>217</sup>

A somewhat different approach was encountered by the Chinese Family Centre tutors, who consciously endorsed the development of bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000:22). The students of this particular organization were the only ones who were introduced to external community groups and who were encouraged to participate in them. Although this participation was not outright interventionist, it was the most interventionist found in Glasgow as it entailed active involvement with organizations that promoted Chinese and wider minoritised groups' issues.

In Athens, it was in the Alliances Social Centre that elements of the radical approach could be found. These tutors' motivation was largely political and, given that the language classes shared the same space as other political activities undertaken by

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<sup>216</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2.1.2.

<sup>217</sup> Irene from the Alliances Social Centre.



members of this organization, the courses were a potential gateway to the anti-racist and wider left wing movements. Still, none of the student interviewees were politically involved *through* the class at the time of the research.<sup>218</sup> Tutors were aware that the decrease of physical contact between migrant students and host community volunteers,<sup>219</sup> which had taken place in the new premises, had contributed negatively to that. Nonetheless, all student interviewees in this organization showed awareness, interest and even participation in socio-political issues and most specifically in an anti-racist demonstration that was taking place near/on the day of interviewing.

Awareness of topical and political issues was also evident amongst students of Integration in Athens. In addition, these students had systematic contact both between themselves and with members of the host community who were involved in other areas of the organization. In this way, tutors of this course assisted their students in developing both bonding and bridging social capital. This did not necessarily lead to interventionist social participation. Still, it did not lock students in a peripheral social position, which can be seen in the students' approach to the host culture and community. Thus, we see that adult education, although not a catalyst for migrant students' interventionist social involvement, has the potential of contributing towards students' conventional participation.

### ***11.2.2 Adult Education and the Democratic Project***

From the above, we see that, amongst the organizations that were studied, there was no outright example of radical adult education that encouraged the development of confident social actors the way it was sought in the theoretical framework. This was the case despite the research including organizations which were campaigning for migrants' rights, and which therefore had socio-political aspirations that reflected a democratic and pluralist society. From that, we can conclude that adult education in Scotland and Greece is missing its opportunity to play a role in a democratic project and it fails to develop social agents. This is disheartening, especially since this study adopted a political discourse of citizenship (Martin, 1999a:94).

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<sup>218</sup> One of the students – Haşim – was politically involved before attending the class, but he expected the class to further facilitate his political life.

<sup>219</sup> Others than their tutors.

Still, one should not be entirely disappointed by the study's findings. Through the exploration of socio-political curriculum, some students became more aware of topical issues and grew to be increasingly interested in the host society. This is a first step towards developing as a social actor and a major part of endorsing active citizenship through adult education.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, with the growth of bonding social capital, students were able to break their social isolation, whilst in the cases where bridging social capital was encouraged, students formed alliances and fostered collective identities that could potentially develop into interventionist social involvement.

This leads us to the conclusion that, apart from attributing importance to interventionist social involvement, adult educators and researchers need to also recognise the value of conventional social participation. As mentioned above, commonplace interaction and communication that takes place on an everyday basis, 'in the context of neighbourliness and of learning together as an everyday process of dwelling in the real world' (Phipps, 2007:26), is particularly important. This interaction, not only is genuine and a fact of life, but it is also influential in encouraging a cosmopolitanised frame of mind and a future-oriented identity – both crucial elements for the advancement of a democratic society.

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<sup>220</sup> As was formulated in Framework 2.1.2.



### **11.3 Recommendations for Further Research**

Several areas of interest and potential concern have been brought to light during the course of the research. First, it would be interesting to investigate how the dominant educational theory of a place and an era is affected by the wider culture, and more specifically, how changes in educational philosophy for migrants interlink with changes in the migration debate. Moreover, it would be important to see whether the current appearance of more in-depth courses on adult education in Greece will lead to the pervasion and domination of a single adult education approach, as was found to be the case in Scotland. Additionally, one could look into how the gradual institutionalisation of adult education for migrants in Athens, through projects such as EQUAL, will affect practice. Lastly, a more general, but crucial, research topic would be the exploration of ways through which less dominant theoretical traditions, such as the radical perspective of adult education, could move beyond the academic arena into that of applied pedagogy.

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## **Appendices**

## Ethical Concerns

Although ethical considerations are vital in any educational research, the sensitive nature of the specific research requires even more attention to be paid to ethics. For this reason, the study abides by the University of Glasgow and Faculty of Education's codes of practice, as well as to the Data Protection Act (House of Commons, 1998: *passim*). Moreover, consultation of the British Educational Research Association ethical guidelines and other relevant literature (BERA, 2004: *passim*; Cohen & Manion, 1995:350-363; Lee, 1999: *passim*) was used both in designing and in conducting the research. Cavan defines ethics as 'a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others. Being ethical limits the choices we can make in the pursuit of truth. Ethics say that while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better' (in Cohen & Manion, 1995:359). Having this in mind throughout the whole process of the research has been important as, not only does the personal interaction of the interview affect the participant, but the knowledge produced influences our wider understanding of the human situation (Kvale, 1996:109).

The issues that arise can be divided into three general subheadings, which can be broadly referred to as voluntary informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and consequences. The principle of voluntary informed consent emerges from individuals' right to freedom and self-determination (Cohen & Manion, 1995:350). Giving one's consent presupposes having extensive and valid information in a language that is clearly understood. For that reason a brief information leaflet – Plain Language Statement – (appendices 2,3) was given to all interviewees to consult before deciding to participate in the study. This leaflet described the rationale and aims of the study, including the research process and who had been invited to take part in it. Furthermore, it explained what would be involved if one decided to participate. Details were given on the ways issues of anonymity, confidentiality and feedback would be dealt with, whilst freedom of withdrawal for any or no reason was assured. Lastly, the interviewer's and faculty ethics officer's contact details were given for whoever might have required further information or had concerns about the research.



and their distinguishing features are also concealed. Finally, to protect confidentiality, the data are securely stored and accessible only to the interviewer.

Any socially sensitive research has potential implications, either directly for the interviewees or for the class of individuals it refers to (Lee, 1993:3). As the priority in any research should be the participants' well-being, measures against any negative consequences should be taken both during and after the interview. Thus, in order to avoid any detrimental effects, the interviewer's relation to the participants was seriously considered. Accordingly, the establishing of rapport was consistently sought during access to participants and interviewing. Although Oakley (in Lee, 1999:108) criticises the use of rapport as being ultimately instrumental, due to the essentially unequal relationship between interviewer and participant, its contribution to participants' well-being is still indisputable.

Rapport involves more than assurances of confidentiality, anonymity and the right to withdraw. Feeling comfortable to express their true opinions and reveal situations and aspects of their lives without feeling distress or discomfort is vital both for the individual's psychological welfare and for offering satisfaction that their contributions are reflected effectively in the study. Communication based on trust and respect should be cultivated throughout the interviewing process, but the opening stage is particularly crucial. Both social and affective factors are involved in developing rapport. Consequently in this study, politeness norms and non-condemnatory attitude, as well as factors such as the familiarity of the environment, the interviewer's use of language and appearance, and the perception of status and cultural difference were all taken into consideration (Arkshey & Knight, 1999:101-104; Keats, 2000:23-25, 82-83; Lee, 1999:98; Miller & Glassner, 1997:106).

Apart from ensuring the participants' well being during interviewing, and especially because of the study's sensitive context, it is also vital to ascertain that findings will not ever be used in a way that harms the interviewers and/or the social groups they are seen to represent. Therefore, data that might lead to the incrimination or negative portrayal of the participants and those they represent is dealt with caution and will not appear in the public domain.

**Will you see the results of the study?**

After the interview, you will get a letter with the information you have given. If you disagree with something or want to make any comments, you are very welcome to contact me. At the end of the study, all those that take part will receive a short report with the results.

If you have any worries about the way this research is done you can contact

Prof. Rex Whitehead  
(Ethics Officer)  
Faculty of Education  
University of Glasgow  
0141-3306565

R.Whitehead@physics.gla.ac.uk



UNIVERSITY  
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GLASGOW

You can contact me for further  
information

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University of Glasgow

SECOND LANGUAGE  
CLASSES FOR ADULTS:  
HOW DOES IT AFFECT  
MIGRANTS' SOCIAL  
INVOLVEMENT

FACULTY of EDUCATION  
St Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow G3 6NH  
Fax: 0141-330-3005 Tel: 0141-330-4101



### Why doing this study?

This study I looking into the ways in which adult education for migrants (economic migrants, asylum seekers or refugees) can affect social involvement. It will look in particular at language courses in urban Scotland and Greece (Glasgow and Athens), two countries with increasingly converging migration policies, comparable social settings but different adult education traditions. Moreover, it will look into the relation between migration policy, adult education provision and adult education teaching for migrants. To do that, I will interview second language classes' students and tutors.

### What will happen, if you decide to take part?

If you do decide to take part in the study, we will arrange an interview time. My contact details are on the back page of this leaflet. It will be helpful if we could meet you at your place of study. Your tutor could arrange a quiet space for us. Otherwise we can meet at any other public but quiet place that you might prefer. The interview will take around 40 minutes and I would like to tape record it. However, I will ask your permission for that.

### What if you do not want the interview to be recorded?

If you are not happy for the interview to be recorded, I will just take notes.

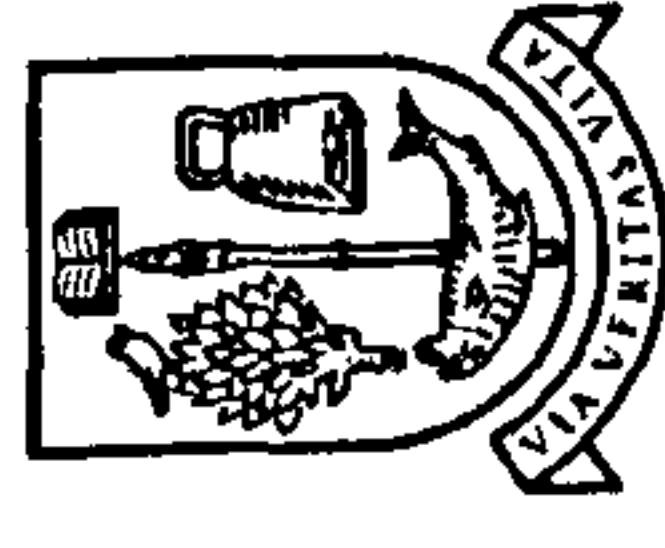
### Do you have to answer all the questions?

No. If you don't want to answer a question you don't have to answer it. If at any time you want to stop the interview, you can do so, and also any information you might have given by that point can be erased.

### Will the interviews be kept confidential?

Yes. Your name will not be connected to anything that you have said. No one apart from the interviewer will have access to the information you have given. By law, the information that you give cannot be made known in any way that connects your name.

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UNIVERSITY  
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GLASGOW

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Για κάθε ανησυχία σε σχέση με την  
έρευνα μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε:

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ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΕΝΗΛΙΚΩΝ  
ΓΙΑ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΣ:  
ΠΩΣ ΕΠΗΡΕΑΖΕΙ ΤΗΝ  
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## Σκοπός της έρευνας

Αυτή η έρευνα, μελετά τους τρόπους με τους οποίους η εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων για μετανάστες επηρεάζει την κοινωνική τους συμμετοχή. Θα κοιτάξω οργανισμούς στην Αθήνα και την Γλασκώβη (Σκωτία), δύο πόλεις με παρόμοιες εμπειρίες αλλά διαφορετικές πολιτικές και παραδόσεις στην εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων. Επίσης θα κοιτάξω τη σχέση μεταξύ μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής και εκπαίδευσης μεταναστών. Για τον σκοπό αυτό θα πάρω συνεντεύξεις μαθητών και καθηγητών σχολών δεύτερης γλώσσας.

## Αν αποφασίσεις να συμμετάχεις

Αν αποφασίσεις να πάρεις μέρος στην έρευνα, θα κανονίσουμε να

συναντηθούμε μέσω του δασκάλου σου. Η συνέντευξη διαρκεί περίπου 40 λεπτά. Μπορούμε να συναντηθούμε εκεί που κάνεις μάθημα ή σε κάποιο άλλο ήσυχο μέρος. Θα ήθελα να μαγνητοφωνήσω την συνέντευξη, αλλά πρώτα θα σου ζητηθεί η άδεια.

## Αν δεν θέλεις να μαγνητοφωνήσω τη συνέντευξη:

Αν δεν θέλεις να μαγνητοφωνηθεί η συνέντευξη, δεν υπάρχει πρόβλημα. Απλά θα κρατήσω σημειώσεις.

## Οι ερωτήσεις

Οι ερωτήσεις θα έχουν να κάνουν με τις ιδέες σου για την εκπαίδευση, και το αποτέλεσμα που έχουν τα μαθήματα στην ζωή σου.

Άν δεν θέλεις να απαντήσεις σε κάποιες ερωτήσεις δεν υπάρχει πρόβλημα. Αν θελήσεις να σταματήσεις

## Ανωνυμία και εμπιστευτικότητα

Κανένας εκτός από εμένα δεν θα μπορεί να δει τις πληροφορίες που θα μου δώσεις. Από τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας κανένας δεν θα μπορέσει να μάθει ποιοί πήραν μέρος. Δέν θα είναι δυνατό να συνδέσει κανείς το ονομά σου με αυτά που είπες.

## Τα αποτελέσματα

Αν θέλεις, πρίν χρησιμοποιήσω τις πληροφορίες που θα μου δώσεις, θα σου στείλω τις σημειώσεις που κράτησα για να ελέγξεις ότι δεν έχω γράψει κάτι με το οποίο δεν συμφωνείς. Επίσης, αν θέλεις όταν τελειώσω την έρευνα μπορώ να σου στείλω μια έκθεση με τα αποτελέσματα.

## **FACULTY of EDUCATION**

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Ira Papageorgiou  
St Andrews Building  
Dpt of Adult and Continuing Education  
University of Glasgow

Date

Dear ,

I am currently conducting a study in relation to Second Language learning and migrants' (including asylum seekers and refugees) socio-political participation, as part of a PhD degree. This study compares Scottish and Greek Second Language Teaching, looking at the ways in which adult education can promote migrants' social and political participation. Moreover, I am interested in the interrelation between the host community's adult education tradition, socio-political context and adult education practice.

For the study, I intend to conduct semi-structured interviews with tutors and students of English and Greek in Glasgow and Athens respectively. The duration of the interviews will be around an hour. I would be very grateful if I could interview teaching staff in your organisation, as well as students who would be willing to participate in the study. Confidentiality and anonymity will be of prime importance and participants will have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. No participant is forced in answering all questions if s/he is not comfortable with it. I would like to tape record the interviews and will ask for the interviewee's permission to do so, but if a participant is not happy with tape recording I will just take notes. Furthermore, the names of the organisations used in the study will also be kept confidential and no information will be disclosed that could lead to connections with the specific organisations. Finally, at the end of the study, all interviewees will receive a short report with the findings.

I could meet you if you would like me to explain further the purposes of the study or answer any questions you or your students may have. Also, I enclose information leaflets for you and the students to have a look before deciding whether to participate. I hope you will be interested in the study. You can contact me at the above address or at [I.Papageorgiou@educ.gla.ac.uk](mailto:I.Papageorgiou@educ.gla.ac.uk)

Thank you very much in advance.

Yours sincerely

Ira Papageorgiou



Ήρα Παπαγεωργίου  
Τμήμα Ενήλικης και Συνεχιζόμενης Εκπαίδευσης  
Πανεπιστήμιο της Γλασκώβης  
I.Papageorgiou@educ.gla.ac.uk

Αγαπητή .....,

Όπως ίσως θα θυμάστε από την τηλεφωνική μας συνομιλία, διεξάγω μια διδακτορική έρευνα σε σχέση με την εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων μεταναστών στην γλώσσα των χωρών υποδοχής. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η έρευνα είναι συγκριτική μεταξύ Αθήνας και Γλασκώβης. Έχει δε σκοπό, εκτός από την περιγραφή της παροχής γλωσσικών μαθημάτων στις δύο αυτές πόλεις, να μελετήσει την σχέση που υφίσταται μεταξύ της εκπαιδευτικής και κοινωνικο-πολιτικής παράδοσης της χώρας με την εκπαίδευση των μεταναστών. Μέσα σ' αυτό το πλαίσιο, και σε πιο πρακτικό επίπεδο, με ενδιαφέρει να μάθω εάν, και μέσω ποιών μεθόδων διδασκαλίας, επηρεάζεται και προωθείται η κοινωνική συμμετοχή των μαθητών.

Για την έρευνα αυτή θα πραγματοποιήσω συνεντεύξεις διδακτικού προσωπικού καθώς και μαθητών που θα ενδιαφέρονταν να λάβουν μέρος. Η εχεμύθεια και ανωνυμία είναι από τις βασικές μέριμνες της μελέτης και οι συμμετέχοντες έχουν το δικαίωμα να αποχωρήσουν από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή καθώς και το δικαίωμα να μην απαντήσουν σε όποια ερώτηση δεν θέλουν.

Ελπίζω να βρείτε την έρευνα ενδιαφέρουσα. Μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μου στις παραπάνω διευθύνσεις.

Σας ευχαριστώ πολύ

Ήρα Παπαγεωργίου

## Πρόσφυγες και Αιτούντες Άσυλο στην Μ. Βρετανία.

### Το παράδειγμα της Σκωτίας

- Λόγοι για τους οποίους η συζήτηση επικεντρώνεται σε πρόσφυγες και αιτούντες άσυλο .
- Υπόβαθρο προσφύγων και αιτούντων άσυλο .
- Νομοθεσία .
- Αλεικόνιση στα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης .
- Εκπαίδευση .

*Γιατί η συζήτηση επικεντρώνεται σε πρόσφυγες και αιτούντες άσυλο :*

Θα περίμενε κανείς ότι οι πρόσφυγες θα ήταν ένα θέμα προς το οποίο μια Ευρωπαϊκή χώρα θα έδειχνε κάποιον απαιτούμενο σεβασμό. Αντίθετα, τα τελευταία χρόνια στην Μ. Βρετανία οι πρόσφυγες και αιτούντες άσυλο είναι από τις πιο κοινωνικά αποκλεισμένες ομάδες. Το θέμα των αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων<sup>1</sup> είναι από τα πιο πολυσυζητημένα θέματα τόσο στα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης όσο και στην βουλή ή τις καθημερινές κουβέντες ανθρώπων. Βασικός λόγος για αυτό είναι το ότι οι αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες είναι πιο εμφανείς από ομάδες οικονομικών μεταναστών. Ως επί το πλείστον, οι οικονομικοί μετανάστες ανήκουν σε εθνικές ομάδες, χρόνια εγκατεστημένες στην χώρα, των οποίων οι χώρες προέλευσης ανήκουν στη Κοινοπολιτεία. Κατά δεύτερον, ο αριθμός των αιτούντων είναι αρκετά αυξημένος. Το 2002 έγιναν 85.000 αιτήσεις για άσυλο στην Μ. Βρετανία<sup>2</sup>. Επίσης, οι αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες δικαιούνται επιδόματα, για τα ποσά των οποίων λαϊκιστικά μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης<sup>3</sup> σπείρουν ψευδείς φήμες.

*Υπόβαθρο προσφύγων και αιτούντων άσυλο στην Γλασκώβη:*

Το 1999 η Immigration and Asylum Act εισήγαγε το 'πρόγραμμα διανομής', σύμφωνα με το οποίο στους αιτούντες άσυλο παρέχεται στέγη σε πόλεις της Μ. Βρετανίας χωρίς δικαίωμα επιλογής. Ο Δήμος Γλασκώβης (μια πόλη στο μέγεθος της Θεσσαλονίκης) έκανε συμβόλαιο με το National Asylum Support Service για την παροχή στέγης σε κενές ανεπιθύμητες εργατικές κατοικίες για 2000 οικογένειες και 500 άτομα. Ανάμεσα τους, υπάρχουν γύρω στις 30 εθνικότητες, εκ των οποίων οι μισοί προέρχονται από το Ιράκ, το Ιράν και το Αφγανιστάν. Άλλες

<sup>1</sup> Τα τελευταία χρόνια έχει υπάρξει μια αλλαγή στην γλώσσα. Ενώ στο παρελθόν ο γενικός όρος για αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες ήταν πρόσφυγες, τώρα εκφράζοντας –αλλά και προωθώντας- την κουλτούρα της δυσπιστίας, αποκαλούνται αιτούντες άσυλο.

<sup>2</sup> από τις οποίες μόνο 8.100 εγκρίθηκαν

<sup>3</sup> Ιδιαίτερα οι δημοφιλείς tabloids.



εθνικότητες που εκπροσωπούνται έντονα είναι η Σομαλία, η Ρωσία, και η Τουρκία. Ο αριθμός των γυναικών είναι μεγαλύτερος από τον αριθμό των αντρών και μεγάλο ποσοστό αυτών έχουν παιδιά σε μικρές ηλικίες.

### *Νομοθεσία:*

Όπως αναφέρθηκε νωρίτερα, το 1999, η Asylum and Immigration Act άλλαξε δραματικά την νομοθεσία επεκτείνοντας τα κέντρα-φυλακές, την γκετοποίηση των υπολοίπων αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων και τον στιγματισμό τους με την αντικατάσταση χρηματικών επιδομάτων από δελτία αντιτίμων<sup>4</sup>. Λόγω αντιδράσεων που προκάλεσε αυτή η νομοθεσία, κάποιοι νόμοι άλλαξαν, αλλά στην ουσία η νομοθεσία γίνεται όλο και περισσότερο κατασταλτική. Η Nationality Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 είναι η τέταρτη νομοθετική ρύθμιση όσον αφορά πρόσφυγες και αιτούντες άσυλο μέσα στην τελευταία δεκαετία. Η οικονομική μετανάστευση αναφέρεται μόνο σε ένα υποκεφάλαιο και αυτό πάλι σε σχέση με τους αιτούντες άσυλο. Η έμφαση εστιάζεται στον έλεγχο και την απομάκρυνση αιτούντων άσυλο των οποίων οι αιτήσεις δεν έχουν γίνει δεκτές. Γεννούνται πολλά ερωτηματικά για το κατά πόσο η νομοθεσία τηρεί την Συνθήκη της Γενεύης και την Ευρωπαϊκή Συνθήκη Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων. Πλέον προβληματικός είναι ο νόμος που απαιτεί την απέλαση αιτούντων άσυλο οι οποίοι δεν έχουν κάνει την αίτηση τους 'όσο πιο νωρίς είναι πρακτικά δυνατόν'. Από τον Ιανουάριο 2003 σχεδόν 3.000 άτομα έχουν ζητήσει σε ΜΚΟ 'κατάλυμα επείγουσας ανάγκης'. Παρ' όλα αυτά, ο Υπουργός Εσωτερικών ανακοίνωσε στους Times την πρόθεση να 'φέρει εις τέλος την αντίληψη ότι όλοι οι άποροι αιτούντες άσυλο θα πρέπει να χαίρουν οικονομικής βοήθειας' (7 Οκτωβρίου 2002).

### *Απεικόνιση στα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης*

Τα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης παίζουν βασικό ρόλο στην διαμόρφωση των σχέσεων μεταξύ των διαφόρων κοινωνικών ομάδων. Σε γενικές γραμμές, τα ΜΜΕ στην Μ. Βρετανία έχουν υπάρξει πολύ αρνητικά σε σχέση με τους αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες. Ιδιαίτερα ο λαϊκιστικός τύπος, βασισμένος σε λανθασμένες πληροφορίες, έχει δημιουργήσει και αναπαράγει εντυπώσεις όπως το ότι 'η εισροή των προσφύγων απειλεί να πλημμυρίσει την Βρετανία', ότι 'η πλειοψηφία των αιτούντων άσυλο δεν είναι πραγματικοί πρόσφυγες', ότι 'φέρνουν αρρώστιες' και ότι 'πολλοί απ' αυτούς είναι τρομοκράτες'. Η παραπάνω δημοσιογραφική κάλυψη

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<sup>4</sup> vouchers



έχει δημιουργήσει ένα κλίμα μέσα στο οποίο η κακομεταχείριση, η γκετοποίηση και η εκμετάλλευση των αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων είναι αποδεκτή. Οι ρατσιστικές επιθέσεις στις περιοχές που έχουν στεγαστεί τα ανωτέρω άτομα, είναι συχνές, με αποκορύφωμα την δολοφονία ενός Κούρδου το 2001 στην Γλασκώβη. Ωστόσο, ταυτοχρόνως έχει δημιουργηθεί και σημαντική κινητοποίηση για την υποστήριξη των αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων.

### *Εκπαίδευση στην Γλασκώβη:*

Οι μεγάλοι αριθμοί αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων που μεταφέρθηκαν στην Γλασκώβη άλλαξαν δραματικά την δημογραφία συγκεκριμένων υποβαθμισμένων περιοχών. Οι κοινωνικοί και εκπαιδευτικοί οργανισμοί στις περιοχές αυτές ήταν ανέτοιμοι να ανταποκριθούν στις αυξημένες ανάγκες. Η πρώτη εκπαιδευτική μέριμνα ήταν η παροχή μαθημάτων αγγλικών. Η πλειοψηφία των οργανισμών που ανέλαβαν τα μαθήματα δεν είχε εμπειρία με παρόμοιες κοινωνικές ομάδες στο παρελθόν και επιπλέον, όσοι παίρνουν χρηματοδοτήσεις από την κυβέρνηση, τις παίρνουν για μικρά χρονικά διαστήματα, ή με προϋποθέσεις για το ποιοι παρακολουθούν. Λίγα τμήματα προσφέρουν πιστοποιητικά αγγλομάθειας και μαθήματα για προχωρημένους, και οι τιμές για την παρακολούθηση άλλων μαθημάτων από αιτούντες άσυλο είναι συνήθως απαγορευτικές. Με άλλα λόγια, η εκπαιδευτική παροχή<sup>5</sup> καλύπτει μόνο τις επείγουσες βασικές ανάγκες για επικοινωνία. Αυτό οφείλεται στην υπόθεση, πρώτον ότι η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών βρίσκονται στην χώρα προσωρινά και δεύτερον ότι οι μαθητές ανήκουν σε μια σχετικά ομοιογενή ομάδα χαμηλού εκπαιδευτικού επιπέδου. Ως εκ τούτου, δεν προωθείται επιπλέον το πολιτιστικό ή κοινωνικό κεφάλαιο των αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων. Άλλα προβλήματα είναι το γεγονός ότι, λόγω της ανεπαρκούς παροχής, οι τάξεις των αγγλικών αποτελούνται από μαθητές διαφορετικών επιπέδων και αναγκών καθώς επίσης και η έλλειψη νηπιακών σταθμών.

Η τάξη στην οποία δίδασκα ήταν οργανωμένη από τον εθελοντικό οργανισμό Glasgow Campaign to Welcome Refugees. Ο συγκεκριμένος οργανισμός ασχολείται με διάφορα πρακτικά και νομικά ζητήματα. Προσφέρονται δύο τάξεις αγγλικών, μια πρωινή και μια απογευματινή. Οι καθηγητές ενημερώνουν για την ύπαρξη των

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<sup>5</sup> Με την έννοια της εκπαιδευτικής παροχής αναφέρομαι στα διοικητικά στελέχη και χρηματοδότες των μαθημάτων και όχι στους καθηγητές ή στον κόσμο που δουλεύει με άμεση επαφή με αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες.



μαθημάτων στην περιοχή μέσω της διανομής φυλλαδίων στα διαμερίσματα της περιοχής, αν και η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών έρχονται αφ' ότου έχουν ακούσει για την τάξη από γείτονες και γνωστούς τους. Οι οικονομικοί πόροι του οργανισμού είναι περιορισμένοι καθώς το μεγαλύτερο μέρος προέρχεται από δωρεές. Τα χρήματα χρησιμοποιούνται για την αγορά γραφικής ύλης, βιβλίων, λεξικών (οι μαθητές δεν αναμένεται να ξοδεύουν δικά τους χρήματα για τα μαθήματα) και παιχνιδιών. Οι καθηγητές είναι εθελοντές και, παρ' ότι έχουν διδακτική εμπειρία σε άλλους τομείς, συνήθως δεν έχουν προηγούμενη εμπειρία στην διδασκαλία αγγλικών ως δεύτερη γλώσσα. Τα μαθήματα λαμβάνουν χώρα σε μία αίθουσα του δήμου, μέσα σε μία από τις εργατικές κατοικίες στην περιοχή που στεγάζονται οι αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες. Η τοποθεσία είναι πολύ προσβάσιμη, η αίθουσα όμως, είναι μικρή για τον αριθμό των ατόμων, και δεν υπάρχει επιπρόσθετη αίθουσα για τα παιδιά.

Στην τάξη υπάρχουν τέσσερις ή πέντε καθηγητές. Οι μαθητές, αν και ενθαρρύνονται να έρχονται συστηματικά, δεν απαιτείται να έρχονται κάθε φορά, ούτε να έρχονται για όλη τη διάρκεια των δύο ωρών που διαρκεί το μάθημα. Οι μαθητές χωρίζονται σε ομάδες ανάλογα με το επίπεδό τους ή ανάλογα με την προτίμηση που μπορεί να έχουν για κάποιον από τους καθηγητές. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι κάποιος καθηγητής μπορεί να έχει από ένα μόνο μαθητή μέχρι πολλούς, ομοιογενή ομάδα ή μικτά επίπεδα. Αυτό κάνει την προετοιμασία για την διδασκαλία πολύ δύσκολη καθώς οι καθηγητές πρέπει να είναι προετοιμασμένοι για διαφορετικά ενδεχόμενα. Στην περίπτωση που υπάρχουν αρκετοί καθηγητές για τον αριθμό ή τις ομαδοποιήσεις των μαθητών, κάποιος αναλαμβάνει την απασχόληση των παιδιών ώστε να μην διακόπτουν τις μητέρες τους από το μάθημα.

Κανένας καθηγητής δεν ακολουθεί κάποιο συγκεκριμένο βιβλίο. Αντιθέτως, συνδυάζεται υλικό από διαφορετικές πηγές, αλλά και πολύ υλικό ειδικά διαμορφωμένο για τους μαθητές. Οι μαθητές ενθαρρύνονται να μιλάνε για την ζωή τους, είτε για αυτή του παρελθόντος, είτε για τις εμπειρίες τους στην Γλασκώβη. Η επιλογή των μεθόδων διδασκαλίας, η εστίαση στον γραπτό ή προφορικό λόγο, και το περιεχόμενο των ασκήσεων γίνεται βάση των προτιμήσεων των συγκεκριμένων κάθε φορά μαθητών. Η πλειοψηφία ζητά προφορική εξάσκηση όπως π.χ. γλωσσικά παιχνίδια που είναι πολύ δημοφιλή στους μαθητές και ως εκ τούτου, λιγότερο σχολαστικές δραστηριότητες.

Κατά την διάρκεια των σχολικών διακοπών, ντόπια παιδιά έχουν συμμετάσχει στα παιχνίδια αυτά<sup>6</sup>.

Η χρήση των μητρικών γλωσσών των μαθητών, όποτε είναι εφικτό, είναι επιθυμητή. Και αυτό διότι βοηθάει, όταν το γλωσσικό επίπεδο των μαθητών είναι πολύ χαμηλό, αλλά και ανυψώνει το ηθικό των μαθητών οι οποίοι βλέπουν την υπάρχουσά τους γνώση ως χαίρουσα εκτίμησης. Πολλές φορές ένας πιο προχωρημένος μαθητής μπορεί να βοηθήσει έναν άλλον, χρησιμοποιώντας μια κοινή μεταξύ τους γλώσσα. Αυτό, όχι μόνο επιβεβαιώνει την πρόοδο των μαθητών που βοηθούν, αλλά και προωθεί την αλληλεγγύη μεταξύ τους. Μαθητές που έχουν φτάσει σε υψηλό επίπεδο, ενθαρρύνονται να συμμετάσχουν στην διδασκαλία.

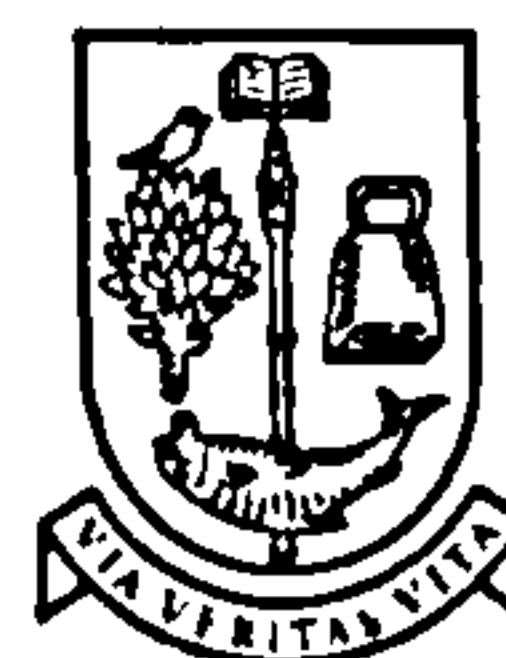
Πολλοί μαθητές παρακολουθούν ταυτόχρονα μαθήματα και σε άλλους τοπικούς οργανισμούς, όπου τα μαθήματα είναι πιο δομημένα. Επίσης η πλειοψηφία των γυναικών, όταν τα παιδιά τους φτάνουν σε σχολική ηλικία, μπαίνουν στις λίστες αναμονής για μαθήματα αγγλικών σε κολέγια, όπου δίνονται πιστοποιητικά αγγλομάθειας. Αυτό δεν υποβιβάζει την δουλειά που γίνεται στον οργανισμό μας, καθώς η ομάδα μαθητών στην οποία στοχεύουμε είναι αυτή που αντιμετωπίζει τα περισσότερα εμπόδια<sup>7</sup> για την πρόσβαση σε εκπαιδευτικούς οργανισμούς. Το πέραςμα των μαθητών μας σε άλλες, πιο επίσημες ή προχωρημένου επιπέδου τάξεις, ως αποτέλεσμα αύξησης αυτοπεποίθησης, είναι και ένας κεντρικός μας στόχος.

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<sup>6</sup> Στην συγκεκριμένη περιοχή υπάρχουν μόνο εργατικές κατοικίες και λίγα μαγαζιά. Η περιοχή είναι αποκομμένη από το κέντρο λόγω αυτοκινητοδρόμων και δεν υπάρχει κάτι με το οποίο να απασχοληθούν τα παιδιά. Ως εκ τούτου, βρίσκουν την τάξη μας ενδιαφέρουσα και εμείς αυτό το βρίσκουμε ως ευκαιρία για την επικοινωνία μεταξύ των κοινοτήτων.

<sup>7</sup> Η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών ήταν γυναίκες με πολύ μικρά παιδιά, χωρίς την υποστήριξη κάποιου συντρόφου, άτομα με περιορισμένες εκπαιδευτικές εμπειρίες, και άτομα με δυσκολία μετακίνησης στο κέντρο –για οικονομικούς λόγους, λόγω φόβου ρατσιστικών επιθέσεων, ή λόγω πολύ περιορισμένης γνώσης της γλώσσας.



**CONSENT FORM**

**UNIVERSITY  
of  
GLASGOW**

SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSES FOR ADULTS: HOW DOES IT AFFECT  
MIGRANTS' SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT.

*This consent form explains the research you are being asked to join. Please read the information leaflet given to you and ask any questions about the study before you agree to take part. To accept, please tick the boxes.*

**Purpose of the study**

I understand that the study I am being invited to join is a research study that compares Scottish and Greek adult education for migrants. By migrants is meant economic migrants as well as asylum seekers and refugees. The interviewees are second language students and tutors, and the study aims to find the ways in which adult education affects migrants' social involvement. ☐

**Confidentiality**

I understand that the results of this project will be coded in such a way that my name will not be connected to any printed material, and that only the researcher will have access to all the information collected. ☐

**Procedure**

I understand that, if I agree to take part, I will be asked questions about my experiences in relation to learning and my attitudes towards social participation in an interview that will last around 40 minutes. ☐

**Recording**

I understand that the interview might be tape-recorded and I consent to this. ☐

I understand that I have the right for the interview not to be tape-recorded, in which case the interviewer will take notes instead. ☐

**Right of Refusal**

I understand that I am free not to answer questions or stop the interview at any time, as well as remove all information given to the interviewer up to that point. ☐

I \_\_\_\_\_ (name of participant) understand the information given to me and agree to take part in the study

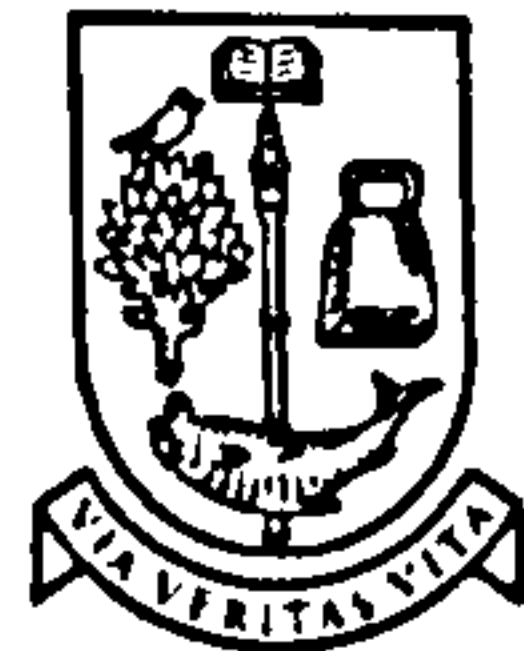
Signature \_\_\_\_\_ (participant) Date \_\_\_\_\_

*Research conducted by: Ira Papageorgiou, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Glasgow*

**FACULTY of EDUCATION**

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**ΕΓΓΡΑΦΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ**

**UNIVERSITY  
of  
GLASGOW**

ΤΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΕΝΗΛΙΚΩΝ: ΠΩΣ ΕΠΗΡΕΑΖΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ  
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ.

*Αυτό το έγγραφο συγκατάθεσης εξηγεί την έρευνα στην οποία καλείστε να πάρετε μέρος. Παρακαλώ, διαβάστε το ενημερωτικό έντυπο και ρωτήστε ό,τι θέλετε πριν δεχθείτε να πάρετε μέρος. Για να δεχτείτε σημειώστε τα κουτάκια.*

**Σκοπός της έρευνας**

Καταλαβαίνω πως η έρευνα στην οποία καλούμαι να συμμετάσχω έχει στόχο να συγκρίνει την Ελληνική και Σκωτσέζικη εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων για μετανάστες. Στην έννοια μετανάστες συμπεριλαμβάνονται τόσο οι οικονομικοί μετανάστες, όσο και οι αιτούντες άσυλο και πρόσφυγες. Οι συνεντευξαζόμενοι είναι μαθητές και καθηγητές Δεύτερης Γλώσσας και η μελέτη αποσκοπεί να βρει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους η εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων επηρεάζει την κοινωνική συμμετοχή των μεταναστών. ☐

**Εμπιστευτικότητα**

Καταλαβαίνω πως τα αποτελέσματα αυτής της έρευνας θα κωδικοποιηθούν με τέτοιο τρόπο ώστε το όνομα μου να μη συνδέεται σε κανένα τυπωμένο υλικό και πως μόνο η ερευνήτρια θα έχει πρόσβαση στις συλλεγμένες πληροφορίες. ☐

**Διαδικασία**

Καταλαβαίνω πως, εάν συμφωνήσω να πάρω μέρος, θα ερωτηθώ για τις εμπειρίες μου σε σχέση με την μάθηση και την στάση μου σε σχέση με την κοινωνική συμμετοχή σε μια συνέντευξη η οποία θα διαρκέσει γύρω στα 40 λεπτά. ☐

**Καταγραφή**

Καταλαβαίνω πως η συνέντευξη θα μαγνητοφωνηθεί και δίνω την συγκατάθεσή μου. ☐

Καταλαβαίνω πως έχω το δικαίωμα η συνέντευξη να μην μαγνητοφωνηθεί και η ερευνήτρια θα κρατήσει σημειώσεις. ☐

**Δικαίωμα άρνησης**

Καταλαβαίνω πως είμαι ελεύθερος/η να μην απαντήσω ερωτήσεις ή να σταματήσω την συνέντευξη οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, όπως επίσης και να απομακρύνω ό,τι πληροφορίες έχουν δοθεί στην ερευνήτρια μέχρι εκείνη την στιγμή. ☐

Ο/Η \_\_\_\_\_ (όνομα συμμετέχοντος)

Καταλαβαίνω τις πληροφορίες που μου έχουν δοθεί και συμφωνώ να πάρω μέρος στην έρευνα.

Υπογραφή \_\_\_\_\_ (συμμετέχον/ουσα) Ημερομηνία \_\_\_\_\_

*Η έρευνα διεξάγεται από την Παπαγεωργίου Ήρα του Τμήματος Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων του Πανεπιστημίου της Γλασκώβης.*

**FACULTY of EDUCATION**

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I first want to thank you for accepting to be interviewed, and for all your help in general. I just want to remind you that anything that you say is anonymous and no connection will be possible to be made with either your name or your organisation. Again any answer you don't want to answer, feel free to say so, and the same goes for if you want to just stop the interview.

*I first want to ask you some questions in relation to the class(es) you are tutoring in your current organisation. It is a few questions which are quite straight forward just so that I can get a feel of what the class(es) is(are) like.*

1. How many classes do you have?

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2. So, how many people more or less are attending your class?

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3. What levels are they at?

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4. How many hours per week is the class (hours per session, number of sessions)?

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5. What day and what time of the day is it?

- ☐ *Weekdays/During school hours*
- ☐ *Weekdays/During usual work hours*
- ☐ *Weekdays/Evening*
- ☐ *Saturday*
- ☐ *Sunday*
- ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

6. Is there a crèche or childcare provision?

7. Do the students sit exams to obtain an external qualification?

8. To which extent are you free to formulate the curriculum?

9. What is the composition of your class:

a. Age groups:

b. Is it mostly men or women in the class?

c. Educational levels:



d. Is there a language other than English, that some students might share?  
(Whether this language is their mother tongue or not.)

\_\_\_\_\_

e. Other

\_\_\_\_\_

I will move on to questions about the teaching itself. More specifically in relation to the content of your teaching

*10. To which extent is the class subject matter restricted to language learning?*

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*11. Do you personally feel there are any restrictions on the extent to which you can broaden up the scope of your teaching?*

Y ☐ N ☐ (go to Q.13) N/A ☐ (go to Q.13)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*12. What would be for you the importance of these extra activities?*

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*13. Do you follow specific textbooks?*

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Are they your choice?

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15. What kind of textbooks do you use?

EFL/GFL ☐ ESOL/GSOL ☐ N/A ☐

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16. Are they specifically for adult learners?

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17. Do you use any other materials?

- ☐ Materials from different textbooks
- ☐ Materials created by you specifically for the class/type of class
- ☐ Real materials, like newspaper cuttings, adverts, forms
- ☐ Other

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18. To which extent do the students have an input in the content or the way of teaching of the class?

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19. Do you ever arrange any meetings for the students outside the class?

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20. Is that for educational or other reasons?

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21. Who is it that organises that (*tutors, organisation, students*)?

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22. In your opinion, is the encouragement of the social participation of the students part of the educator's work?

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23. In which ways?

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*Can I now move on to your past work experience?*

24. *First of all*, have you had any similar work experience before working in this organisation?

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25. Do you have any previous teaching experience with a different subject or type of students?

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*If yes*, do you think it affects your teaching now?  
In which way?

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26. How come you decided to do this kind of work?

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27. Doing the job that you do, how do you see your role in society?

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That’s great. Now I’ll ask a few questions in relation to adult education and/or migration and migrant policy.

28. Do you see adult education policy affecting your work?



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29. If you had lots of power, is anything in particular you would change in policy in order for your work to have what you see as the best result possible?

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30. *Finally*, is there anything that I have missed out and you'd like to add?

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*That was all. Thank you very much for your time and all your help.*

First of all, I'd like to thank you for accepting to take part in this research and I'd like to remind you that anything you say will be kept between us and if you want to stop the interview that is okay. Feel free not to answer a question if you don't feel comfortable with it. Feel free to be completely honest in answering the questions. I am interested in hearing your thoughts, whatever they are.

### Personal Information:

1. Sex: F ☐ M ☐

2. What is your country of origin? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Can I ask how old you are? ☐ 18-25    ☐ 26-30    ☐ 31-40  
☐ 41-50    ☐ 51-60    ☐ 61-above

4. What is your family situation?

- ☐ *Single*
- ☐ *Married or partnered*
- ☐ *Separated/divorced*
- ☐ *Widowed*
- ☐ *Other*

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ *Won't say*

5. Do you live with someone else?

- ☐ *Alone (go to Q7)*
- ☐ *With husband/wife/partner only (go to Q7)*
- ☐ *With children only*
- ☐ *With husband/wife/partner and some children*
- ☐ *With parents (go to Q7)*
- ☐ *With extended family- no children (go to Q7)*
- ☐ *With extended family- and children*
- ☐ *With friends or others (go to Q7)*



☐ Other

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6. If you live with children, what age are they?

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7. For how long have you lived in this country?

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8. Did you come to this country alone?

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9. Did you know anyone living here before you came?

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10. Is there a large number of people from your country living in Glasgow?

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Before moving on to questions about education, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your social life. If you find any questions you don't want to answer, just say so. There's no problem at all, okay?

*11. When you don't work and you have some free time, how do you usually spend your time?*

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*12. Do you read any newspapers, or other printed material like magazines?*

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*If yes, what kind of newspapers do you read?*

☐ Newspapers of the country of origin?

☐ Newspapers of the host country?

- ☐ Newspapers of your community but based in the host country?
- ☐ Newspapers of a different migrant community in the host country?

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*13. Have you ever been involved in any group activity outside family and work (voluntary association, community group) either before or after coming to this country? Please feel free to tell me, this interview is totally confidential and no information about you will be given to anyone else*

Y ☐ N ☐ (go to

Q.16) N/A ☐

*What was it?*

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*14. Can you tell me a few things about it?*

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*15. The members of the group you take part in are:*

- ☐ From your community
- ☐ All migrants, but from different backgrounds
- ☐ From both the migrant and host communities
- ☐ Other

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*16. If you haven't take part in any group, are there some specific reasons for that?*

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***Educational Information:***

That's great. Now I will move on by asking you a few questions on your educational history.

*17. What is your level of education?*

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*18. Apart from the English classes, have you attended any adult education course? –if no, go to Q.20. If yes, describe*

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*19. For any education after school (in either country), what were your motivations?*

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go to Q.22

*20. You told me you have done no learning, apart from this language course, since you left school. Have you ever thought about doing anything else?*

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*What?*

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*21. Why did you not do it?*

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***Language Learning:***

Now I will move on to some more specific questions on your English classes

*22. How long, after you first came to the UK (and more specifically Scotland) did you start English classes?*

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*23. Did you do English in a different class before you came to this one?*

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Now, I will go on to some questions about the language course you are in now.

But first,

*24. How did you hear about the class you are now in?*

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*25. So, was it Scottish people that informed you?* ☐

*Or members of your ethnic community?* ☐

*Or migrants from other backgrounds?* ☐

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*26. Are you attending regularly; do you go to most sessions?*

*Y*☐ *(go to Q28)*   *N*☐   *N/A*☐

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*27. If not, what are the main reasons?*

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***Relationships in the class:***

*28. Is there other people from your country in the class?*

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*29. Do you ever use your language during the lesson?*

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*30. Is there a third language that you use with your classmates or the tutor, other than your native or English language?*

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*31. Generally speaking, how do you get on with your classmates?*

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*32. Do you have any contact with your classmates outside the classroom?*

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*33. How comfortable do you feel with your teacher?*

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*34. In the classroom, what kind of things do you talk about?*

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*35. Do you discuss about?*

- ☐ Administrative information e.g. how the stamp system works, where to get legal advice, jobcentres
- ☐ Cultural issues of the host country e.g local art & festivals, beer/coffee culture
- ☐ Social realities affecting their lives e.g. work issues, racism
- ☐ Your experiences in the country of origin
- ☐ More personal stuff e.g. the birth of a child, a divorce

- ☐ 

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*36. Is there any other issues that you would want to discuss in the classroom and which are not really discussed?*

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37. *To which extent, if at all, you see these issues as part of learning?*

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38. *Do you ever meet with your classmates outside the class as a group?*

☐ Never (go to Q. 42)

☐ Other,

discuss

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39. *Has it been for educational reason?* ☐

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*Or for social reasons?* ☐

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*Other?* ☐

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40. *Who was it that arranged it (tutor, students. organization)?*

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*41. How would you feel about meeting up more often?*

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*go to Q.43*

*42. How would you feel about meeting up?*

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***Effects on social life:***

Now, I will ask some questions to see how your course might have changed your life.

*43. First of all, why did you start the course?*

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*44. Have you seen any of the expected or unexpected changes in your life since you started the classes?*

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- ☐ *Personal changes*

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☐ *Understanding of the host community's culture*

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☐ *Social life (relationships, voluntary associations)*

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☐ *Sense of belonging (identification with communities)*

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☐ *Other*

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*45. Do you think this experience has changed the way you see your future. Have you made any future plans?*

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*47. Since starting the course, do you find yourself being more confident in specific situations? What are these?*

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*What about?*

- ☐ Asking information/questions from strangers on the street
- ☐ Discussing with officials (bank manager, DSS)
- ☐ Speaking up if you feel you are being treated unfair
- ☐ Being more open to people
- ☐ Meeting new people from other backgrounds
- ☐ Speaking up in a group or meeting
- ☐ Moving onto further course of learning

- ☐ 

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*47. Is there any changes in the media you read/listen?*

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*48. Do you feel that your interest about this country has changed since you started the English class?*

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*In which way?*

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*49. The changes you have experienced in your life, are they in any way related to you having these English classes? In which way?*

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*50. Finally, in you were to be organising and/or teaching a similar class, is there anything in particular you would change in order to help more the students?*

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*51. Here my questions are finished. Is there anything I haven't asked you that you would like to add?*

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\_\_\_\_\_Thank you very much



Πρώτα απ' όλα θα ήθελα να σας ευχαριστήσω που δεχτήκατε να πάρετε μέρος στην έρευνα. Θέλω να σας θυμίσω πως ότι μου πείτε θα μείνει μεταξύ μας. Επίσης, δεν υπάρχει πρόβλημα, αν δεν νοιώθετε άνετα με μια ερώτηση, μπορείτε να μην την απαντήσετε. Και αν θέλετε για κάποιο λόγο να σταματήσουμε την συνέντευξη, πάλι δεν υπάρχει πρόβλημα. Θέλω να μου πείτε τι πιστεύετε. Με ενδιαφέρει να ακούσω τις ιδέες σας, όποιες κι αν είναι.

### Προσωπικά στοιχεία:

1. Φύλο: ☐ Θ ☐ Α

2. Από ποια χώρα είστε? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Μπορώ να ρωτήσω την ηλικία σας? ☐ 18-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ 31-40  
☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61-πάνω

4. Ποια είναι η οικογενειακή σας κατάσταση?

- ☐ Άγαμος/η
- ☐ Παντρεμένος/η ή σε συγκατοίκηση
- ☐ Χωρισμένος/η
- ☐ Χήρος/α
- ☐ Άλλο

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☐ Δεν Απαντώ

5. Μένετε με κάποιον άλλον?

- ☐ Μόνος (Πηγαίνετε στην Ε.7)
- ☐ Με άντρα/γυναίκα/σύντροφο (Πηγαίνετε στην Ε.7)
- ☐ Με παιδιά μόνο
- ☐ Με άντρα/γυναίκα/σύντροφο και παιδιά
- ☐ Με γονείς (Πηγαίνετε στην Ε.7)
- ☐ Με φίλους ή άλλους (Πηγαίνετε στην Ε.7)
- ☐ Στο σπίτι του εργοδότη (Πηγαίνετε στην Ε.7)

□ Άλλο

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6. Αν ζείτε με παιδιά, πόσο χρονών είναι?

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7. Πόσο καιρό ζείτε στην Ελλάδα;

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8. Ήρθατε στην Ελλάδα μόνος/η;

---

9. Είχατε κάποιον γνωστό στην Ελλάδα πριν έρθετε;

---

10. Υπάρχουν πολλά άτομα από την χώρα σας στην Αθήνα;

---

*Πριν προχωρήσω σε ερωτήσεις για την εκπαίδευση θα ήθελα να σας κάνω κάποιες ερωτήσεις για την κοινωνική σας ζωή. Αν δεν θέλετε να απαντήσετε κάποια ερώτηση δεν υπάρχει πρόβλημα.*

11. Όταν δεν δουλεύετε και έχετε ελεύθερο χρόνο, τι κάνετε;

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12. Διαβάζετε εφημερίδες ή περιοδικά;

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Αν ναι, τι διαβάζετε;

- ☐ Εφημερίδες της χώρας προέλευσης
- ☐ Ελληνικές εφημερίδες
- ☐ Εφημερίδες της κοινότητας σας τυπωμένες στην Ελλάδα
- ☐ Άλλο \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13. Έχετε πάρει ποτέ μέρος σε ομαδικές δραστηριότητες έξω από την οικογένεια και την δουλειά (διοργάνωση γιορτών, εθελοντικές οργανώσεις, ομάδες μεταναστών) είτε πριν είτε αφού έχετε έρθει στην Ελλάδα Υ☐ Ν☐ (go to Q.16) Ν/Α☐

Τι ήταν;  
\_\_\_\_\_

14. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε κάποια πράγματα γι 'αυτό;  
\_\_\_\_\_

15. Τα μέλη της ομάδας είναι:
- ☐ Από την χώρα μου
  - ☐ Μετανάστες από διαφορετικές χώρες
  - ☐ Και μετανάστες και Έλληνες
  - ☐ Άλλο

\_\_\_\_\_

16. Αν δεν έχετε πάρει μέρος, υπάρχει κάποιος συγκεκριμένος λόγος γι 'αυτό;

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**Εκπαίδευση:**

Ωραία. Τώρα θα σας κάνω κάποιες ερωτήσεις σε σχέση με την εκπαίδευση σας.

17. Ποιο είναι το επίπεδο της εκπαίδευσης σας;

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18. Έκτος από τα μαθήματα Ελληνικών, έχεις κάνει άλλα μαθήματα ως ενήλικας;

–αν όχι, go to Q.20. Αν ναι, περιγράψτε

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19. Για τα μαθήματα που έχετε κάνει αφού τελειώσατε το σχολείο, για ποιους λόγους το κάνατε;

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go to Q.22



20. Μου είπατε πως δεν έχετε κάνει άλλα μαθήματα, εκτός από τα Ελληνικά, από τότε που φύγατε από το σχολείο. Έχετε σκεφτεί ποτέ να κάνετε κάτι;

\_\_\_\_\_

Τι;

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

21. Ποιος ήταν ο λόγος που δεν το κάνατε μέχρι τώρα;

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Μαθήματα Ελληνικών:**

Τώρα θα προχωρήσω σε πιο συγκεκριμένες ερωτήσεις για τα μαθήματα Ελληνικών.

22. Μετά από πόσο καιρό από τον ερχομό σας στην Ελλάδα αρχίσατε μαθήματα Ελληνικών;

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

23. Κάνατε μαθήματα ελληνικών αλλού πιο παλιά;

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

24. Από πού ακούσατε για τα μαθήματα που κάνετε τώρα;

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25. Δηλαδή, ήταν άτομα από την χώρα σας που σας είπαν για τα μαθήματα; ☐

ή μετανάστες από άλλες χώρες ☐

ή Έλληνες ☐

---

26. Πηγαίνετε σχεδόν σε όλα τα μαθήματα;

Υ ☐ (go to Q28)    Ν ☐    Ν/Α ☐

27. Αν όχι, για ποιους λόγους;

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**Σχέσεις στην τάξη:**

28. Υπάρχουν στην τάξη άλλα άτομα από την χώρα σας;

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29. Χρησιμοποιείτε καθόλου την γλώσσα σας μέσα στο μάθημα;



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30. Υπάρχει καμιά Τρίτη γλώσσα που να μιλάτε με τους συμμαθητές σας (άλλη από τη μητρική ή την Ελληνική);

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31. Γενικά, πως τα πάτε με τους συμμαθητές σας;

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32. Έχετε καθόλου επαφή με τους συμμαθητές σας έξω από την τάξη;

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33. Πόσο άνετα νοιώθετε με τον δάσκαλο/α σας;

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34. Στην τάξη, για τι θέματα μιλάτε;

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35. Μιλάτε για:

- ☐ Θέματα που έχουν να κάνουν με το κράτος, π.χ. πληροφορίες για ένσημα, άδεια παραμονής-εργασίας, νομική βοήθεια
- ☐ Για θέματα Ελληνικής κουλτούρας
- ☐ Πράγματα που συμβαίνουν στην καθημερινή σας ζωή π.χ. δουλειά, ρατσισμός
- ☐ Εμπειρίες από την χώρα σας
- ☐ Προσωπικά θέματα π.χ. παιδιά, οικογένεια

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36. Υπάρχουν θέματα που θα θέλατε να μιλήσετε και δεν συζητιούνται;

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37. Νομίζετε ότι τα παραπάνω θέματα είναι μέρος της μάθησης;

Σε τι βαθμό;

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38. Συναντιέστε ποτέ με τους συμμαθητές σας σαν ομάδα έξω από την τάξη;

- ☐ Never (go to Q.42)
- ☐ Other

39. Ήταν για εκπαιδευτικούς λόγους; ☐

---

Ή για κοινωνικούς λόγους; ☐

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Άλλο; ☐

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40. Ποιος το κανόνισε (ο δάσκαλος/α, ο οργανισμός, οι μαθητές);

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41. Θα θέλατε να συναντιέστε πιο συχνά;

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go to Q.43

42. Θα θέλατε να συναντιόσασταν;

**Επιρροή στην κοινωνική ζωή:**

Τέλος θα κάνω κάποιες ερωτήσεις για το πώς τα μαθήματα μπορεί να σας έχουν αλλάξει πλευρές της ζωής σας.

43. Γιατί ξεκινήσατε τα μαθήματα ελληνικών;

44. Έχετε δει καθόλου αλλαγές στην ζωή σας;

□ Στην προσωπική ζωή



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☐ Στην κατανόηση της ελληνικής κουλτούρας

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☐ Κοινωνική ζωή

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☐ Στο κατά πόσο γίνεστε μέρος της ζωής της Ελλάδας

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☐ Άλλο

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45. Πιστεύετε πως η εμπειρία σας στην τάξη έχει αλλάξει το πώς βλέπετε το μέλλον σας; Πως;

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46. Από τότε που αρχίσατε τα μαθήματα, βρίσκετε τον εαυτό σας να έχει περισσότερη αυτοπεποίθηση για κάποια πράγματα; Ποια;

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- ☐ Να ζητάτε πληροφορίες από αγνώστους
- ☐ Να μιλάτε με υπαλλήλους του κράτους
- ☐ Να διαμαρτύρεστε αν πιστεύετε πως σας φέρονται άδικα
- ☐ Να είστε πιο ανοιχτός σε ανθρώπους
- ☐ Να γνωρίζετε κόσμο από χώρες άλλες από την δική σας
- ☐ Να μιλάτε σε συνελεύσεις, μεγάλες ομάδες
- ☐ Να προχωρήσετε σε μεγαλύτερο επίπεδο εκπαίδευσης

47. Διαβάζετε άλλες εφημερίδες ή περιοδικά απ'αυτά που διαβάζατε;

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48. Έχει αλλάξει το ενδιαφέρον σας για την Ελλάδα ή την Αθήνα από τότε που αρχίσατε Ελληνικά;

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Με τι τρόπο;

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49. Νομίζετε πως κάποιες αλλαγές στην ζωή σας έχουν γίνει γιατί κάνατε μαθήματα σ' αυτήν την τάξη;

\_\_\_\_\_Με ποίο τρόπο;

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50. Τέλος, αν ήσασταν ο δάσκαλος της τάξης, τι θα θέλατε να κάνετε διαφορετικό για να βοηθήσετε περισσότερο τους μαθητές;

Υ ☐ Ν ☐ Ν/Α ☐

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51. Εδώ τελείωσαν οι ερωτήσεις μου. Θα θέλατε να προσθέσετε κάτι;

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\_\_\_\_\_Ευχαριστώ πολύ

**Tutors – Glasgow**

Glasgow College

Mary  
Fiona

Chinese Family Centre

Alice  
Susie

Refugees' Learning Centre

George

Glasgow Connections

Paul  
Jane  
Catherine  
Sandie

**Tutors – Athens**

Athens Vocational Centre

Dimitris  
Sotiris

Polish Cultural Centre

Iwona

Integration

Antonia  
Manolis

Athens Social Centre

Anna  
Danai

Students – Glasgow

Glasgow College

Suzanna  
Babak  
Andrey

Chinese Family Centre

Cherry  
Warren

Refugees' Learning Centre

Sophie  
Faya  
Peggy

Glasgow Connections

Yildiz  
Adlin  
Maya

Students – Athens

Athens Vocational Centre

Zamira  
Mila  
Elena

Polish Cultural Centre

Gizela  
Erika  
Adrianna  
Malgosia

Integration

Nicoleta  
Eugen  
Tudor

Athens Social Centre

Haşim  
Irene  
Raed



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Jane  
Catherine  
Sandie

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Dimitris  
Sotiris

### Polish Cultural Centre

Iwona

### Integration

Antonia  
Manolis

### Athens Social Centre

Anna  
Danai

The information leaflet mostly refers to students. The tutors in Glasgow<sup>1</sup> were first sent a formal letter (appendix 4), which discussed the same issues as the information leaflet in a more official language and invited tutors to take part in the study. However, since the same issues apply to tutors-interviewees, and as tutors were likely to want to be informed of what the study would require of their students before granting access to them, the students' information leaflet was attached to the letter. After access to the students was granted and the interviewer was introduced to them by their tutors, the information leaflet was handed out, read aloud and explained in a language appropriate to each class's level. Then, the researcher having answered all queries and concerns, those students who were willing to participate were asked to make an appointment for the interview. Still, given that all students had the contact details of the interviewer, both those who had decided to take part and those who had not could change their minds.

Being responsible adults and having been given the above information in an understood language, the participants' turning up to the interview already indicated their consent to participate. Yet, to provide a more legally binding protection, a formal consent form (appendices 7,8) was given to be read and signed at the beginning of each interview. This consent form explained the procedure of interviewing as well as the wider purpose and aims of the study. The interviewee was thus given the choice of accepting or refusing to be tape-recorded and the interviewer affirmed respect of anonymity, confidentiality and right to discontinue participation, including the withdrawal of any data having been given at any point.

As already discussed, it is important that the data obtained through interviewing, as well as the names of the participants, are stored securely and that publication of any findings is made in a way that precludes the actual or potential identification of the participants. This is all the more important as information obtained in this study includes what is considered to be 'sensitive personal data' (House of Commons, 1998: section 2). In order to avoid breaching anonymity, the names of the interviewees have been coded in a manner understood only by the interviewer. Additionally, as the sample of interviewees is small and the nature of data proffered could be used to identify participants, the names of the organizations

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<sup>1</sup> In Athens the tutors were only given the information leaflet. The reasons for not following the same procedure in Greece have been explained in Chapter 7.1.